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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM ON DETENTE, WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

Summary

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 3-4

[Text] The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, together with the political, theoretical and information periodical BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS for communism and the workers' parties, held an international conference at Tihany 5-7 May.

Forty-four sister parties participated in the work of the discussions. The conference was characterized by a comradely and creative atmosphere of debate. At the plenary sessions, there were forty speeches, and nine participants handed in speeches in written form. In addition, there were numerous replies, responses and answers, and counter-replies.

The central thinking in the 3-day exchange of ideas was concentrated on four large problems:

1. The interrelations of the socialist policy for peaceful cooperation and of the processes of relaxing international tensions through the anti-imperialist and the anti-capitalist revolutionary struggle. The discussions repeatedly confirmed that the socialist policy of peaceful coexistence does not mean the social status quo in the non-socialist countries; nor does it mean the freezing of present international power relations, rather it assures favorable conditions for the gradual advance of socialist forces both in industrial countries and in international relations. This advance, however, is not an automatic process; detente only provides the opportunity for it, which the revolutionary forces must convert into reality by conscious, planned, coordinated and unified action.
2. The importance of proletarian internationalism in the cooperation of three revolutionary trends — the socialist world system, the communist and workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and the international liberation movement. It has been established that proletarian internationalism is an important basic principle in cooperation among the three trends. The multitude and variety of the forces entering in the war against capitalism

has naturally enriched and widened the form and substance of proletarian internationalism. Today this concept includes mutual assistance, solidarity, and cooperation among the three trends of the world revolutionary process; and the coordinated, common action of these three trends against the common enemy, international imperialism. Naturally, this lofty principle includes an active and acting solidarity with those revolutionary units which are fighting directly on the front line (Vietnam, Chile, Angola, Cyprus, the Near East, Portugal, Spain, etc.) At the same time, the important question for proletarian internationalism is the relationship to existing socialist societies, above all to the communist-building Soviet Union. The substance of mutual solidarity of proletarian internationalism and revolutionary forces has been widened and enriched, but the new substance is not antithetical to the old, and in fact it was the successful realization of old goals which led to the present broader interpretation and conceptualization of internationalism, which makes possible the consolidation and unification not only of expressly proletarian forces but all allied anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces.

3. The character of the present, more recent development phase of the international liberation movement. In the discussions, great emphasis was laid on the political and social polarization of countries liberated from the "classical" colonial slavery of imperialism. At the same time, those countries where the national bourgeoisie in their cooperation with capitalist countries force capitalist development on countries which have become politically independent and continue to remain in a dependent situation in the capitalist world system, independently of the personal efforts of groups temporarily in power within the national bourgeoisie, they preserve potential anti-imperialist possibilities in these parts of the movement. Great attention was devoted to the possibilities of exerting influence on imperialism with the international liberation movement. It was established that the possibilities for exporting armed counter-revolutions are being narrowed in the so-called third world area as well. The victory of the Vietnamese people and the success of the progressive forces in Angola bear witness to this. At the same time, the imperialist possibilities are not yet exhausted either in military or other respects in the fight against the national liberation movement. Depending on regional power relations, the instruments of economic and ideological influence are coming to the fore in this field.

4. The nature of the crisis being undergone in the developed capitalist countries, and the ways and means for the development that can be expected and is already underway. The participants in discussions emphasized the complex nature of the crisis which embraces the entire society, in which the contradictions and the anti-humanism of capitalist society are strongly reflected, and in reaction to which increasingly new masses are joining in seeking a way out; the anti-monopolist, united front is continuing to widen and, too, the objective basis of the struggle for socialism.

All the activities and speeches of the 3-day conference were imbued with the experiences of the three revolutionary trends, with the evaluation of the experiences, its analysis, and its high degree of responsibility for mutuality, always characteristic of communists. The thought was expressed that the three branches of the world revolutionary process and the internationalization of the revolutionary experiences of the parties, organizations and movements struggling therein are the most important source in our days for the development of Marxism-Leninism.

The abbreviated and edited minutes of the conference may be found in the September 1976 issue of BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS.

In the following, we present the opening speech of Imre Gyori, secretary of the MSZMP (Hungarian Socialist Workers Party) Central Committee, and the comments of the members of the Hungarian delegation. The speech by the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Dr. Janos Berecz, head of the MSZMP Central Committee's Foreign Division, was published in the June 1976 issue of TARSADALMI SZEMLE in somewhat expanded form.

Welcoming Speech

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 5-8

[Speech by Imre Gyori, Secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee: "Opening Address to the Conference"]

[Text] Dear Comrades!

In the name of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, I greet the participants of the conference on the questions of "the fight for cooperation in the three revolutionary trends and for relaxing international tensions." I greet the delegates of the sister parties, I greet Comrade Konstantin Ivanovich Zarodov, the chief editor of BEKE ES SZOCIALIZMUS and the members of its editorial council.

Dear Comrades!

It is a great honor for Hungarian communists to be hosts to this very important conference at the request of the editorial body. Our party attributes outstanding importance to the fact the representatives of the sister parties are discussing timely problems of their common struggle in an open and frank exchange of ideas. With this, they are not only promoting the success of the common efforts, but with a useful exchange of experience and by means of mutually rewarding discussions they are helping the struggle of every unit in our movement.

The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and all the Hungarian working people are interested in crowning with new successes the fight being waged throughout the world for socialism, national independence, social progress and peace.

As you know, our working people with the leadership of our party are working energetically and confidently to carry out the tasks set by the 11th Party Congress for creating a developed socialist society in our country. Applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism, the general laws of socialist building work, and the experiences of international communism and workers' movement to the characteristic relations of our country, our party is active in realizing the great goals of our people. Our social and economic development is steady, the living standards of our people are rising, and their material and cultural resources are improving. The leading role of the party, the working class, is being realized in our society. The determining factor in our development is our party's strength, the oneness of its ranks, the Marxist-Leninist ideological, political and action unity, its solid ties with the masses, and the socialist moral, political unity of our people.

The major political base of our state, which from the viewpoint of class content is a proletarian dictatorship, is the worker-peasant federation. The working class attracts into the exercise of power the representatives of the agricultural producer cooperative peasantry, the intellectuals, and the broadest masses working on the building of socialism. Thereby the power of all the working people is realized in Hungary. The people's power is all the more solid the broader the mass basis on which it is built. Consequently, the fuller development of socialist democracy in a socialist society is the primary requirement for the devevelopment of state theory and the political system.

The creation of a developed socialist state is the program of our entire people, our national interest. We are convinced that with the realization of the tasks set forth in our party's program statement, and by continuing to follow and develop the ideological policy we have up to now, we will best serve the goal of further enhancing our people's interests, come closest to our goals, to the building of a developed socialist society and of communism.

The Hungarian communists are deeply imbued with the responsibility we have taken before our working class, our working people, and in close accompanying unity with the responsibility we have undertaken and feel for the international communist and workers' movement.

We are fully aware that by fulfilling our tasks we shall contribute to increasing the strength of the socialist countries, the decisive factor of which is to change international power relations in favor of the forces for peace and social progress. This goes together with the advance of peaceful coexistence, the strengthening of international detente, that is, the increasing improvement of the external conditions of our fight and work.

The nucleus of unity for the main revolutionary forces is the oneness of the communist and workers' movement. With the international commitment of our party, it will do everything to strengthen the unity of our party to increase our oneness which is being built on Marxist-Leninist principles. We believe that at the present period when our movement is without an

organizational center, the international class war is going on under increasingly complicated circumstances, and our movement is on the upswing, and the responsibility of the individual parties and the importance of proletarian internationalism is increasing. In this situation, it is a natural requirement that the sister parties should analyze the international situation in bilateral and multilateral discussions, exchange and review revolutionary experiences, and discuss the most purposeful methods for our common struggle. All this helps to raise the level of ideological educational work in our party. It makes it possible for us to be more successful in our ideological struggle between the two social systems, in which our most effective weapon is the truth of Marxism-Leninism. In knowledge of this, we are developing our relations with the sister parties, and we are taking active part in common forums with our sister parties. We are working actively in preparing the European communist and workers parties conferences, in the maturing of conditions for international conferences.

Our party consistently speaks out against every kind of right and left-wing opportunism. We reject every manifestation of nationalism and anti-Sovietism. We conduct a consistent ideological-political war against Maoism.

We attribute great significance to the strengthening cooperation among socialist countries. The inner dynamic development of the individual countries is the source of this. We were happy to see recently, at congresses of the sister parties, the great achievements and encouraging goals, the realization of which bring about a social and national upswing, an improvement in living standards, and the further perfection of socialist democracy. We, Hungarian communists, regard the work and resolutions of the 25th Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party as of outstanding importance. Through the theoretical generalization of practical experiences gained in the building of communism, this congress of historical importance developed Marxism-Leninism creatively onward. It took a stand on the basic questions of our era and developed further the peace program, the goals of which coincide with the interest of our party and people and our international efforts. The congress established a real, well-founded and encouraging program for the building of communism. This highest forum of the Soviet communists proclaimed, with all its strength, international solidarity for socialism, social progress, democracy, and nationalism. We warmly wish that the Soviet communists and the people of the Soviet Union realize the resolutions of the 25th Congress on behalf of the Soviet people and human progress.

Dear Comrades!

This conference is being held at a time when there is a relaxation in international life, and the relations of states with different social systems are being shaped under the policy of peaceful coexistence. These international circumstances assure favorable conditions for the peaceful work of the socialist countries, the fight of workers in the capitalist countries, and the struggles of the national and social liberation movements. The advance of the world revolutionary process bears indisputable witness to the fact that the policy of peaceful coexistence is a revolutionary policy. We can be

witnesses to the fact that in the period of relaxation the positions of socialism are strengthening and expanding. The national liberation movement is reconstituting the political map of the world. The fight of the workers against the oppression of monopolies and exploitative systems is increasingly successful. The revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist movement is becoming increasingly greater. I want to mention this particularly — we perceive with pleasure that our sister parties in the capitalist countries are winning important successes in their fight against the rule of monopoly capital, in the unity of progressive, democratic left-wing forces; and as militant units commanding great respect from their people, they are leading, in many countries, the battle of the working masses for a democratic transformation and better, more human living circumstances. We value highly the tireless activity of our sister parties which they are conducting for the spreading of socialist ideas and for social change pointing toward a profound, democratic socialism in their countries. We proclaim our continuing solidarity with the struggles of our sister parties, and deeply hope that their efforts will be crowned with success as soon as possible for their own working class, the working people, and our common benefit. We have solidarity with the people in Asia, Africa, and Latin America who are struggling against imperialism to gain and consolidate their freedom and independence. We support the revolutionary movements of the developing countries, the consistent believers in unity with the socialist countries, and those who realize it.

We account for the change in international power relations as a result of the combined struggles of peoples of socialist countries and of the international working class and the national liberation movements. The future pledge for our successes is in the cooperation, oneness and unity of these three forces.

Dear Comrades!

We are convinced that this conference on theory also serves international communism, the ranks of the workers' movement, and the effectiveness of its appearance. With a realistic, creative taking into account of the international power relations in our days and the development of the world situation and its factors, we are contributing to the strengthening unity of the three main revolutionary forces, and to the further strengthening of international unity. We wish that in a democratic atmosphere which traditionally characterizes the discussions of our parties and in the framework of a comradely exchange of opinions and experiences they will complete their work successfully and enriched by pleasant experiences return home from socialist Hungary.

I thank you for your attention.

Importance of the Ideological Struggle

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 10-15

[Speech by Laszlo Nagy: "The Experiences of Socialist Countries in the Present-Day Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] The fact that the historical experiences of one people on a lower stage of social development can be used by another people successfully to speed up its own advance is a general law of human development. History is the school-master of life, as the well-known proverb puts it. And this is true, assuming we are acquainted with history, assuming if despite all its myriad faces we see human development as the rise of an upward-moving spiral, which on the basis of a certain general, objective law reproduces itself at a higher and higher level and thus arrives from proto-communism to actual communism. The importance of the usefulness of experience, however, declines immediately for those who regard history as an anarchic accumulation of completely isolated, individual, never-repeating incidents as a consequence of which and in the repetition of which there is no connecting link, causal relationship, law. The fact that one people can discover from another and that this speeds up development was also known by thinkers before Marxism. It is enough to cite the views of the Russian Tschernishevski: "When a known social phenomenon reaches a high peak of development in the life of a people, the advance of another, more backward people can reach this peak much more rapidly than in the case of the people who went ahead." Marx studied the anatomy of capitalist society primarily in the history of England, which was at that time the classic example of capitalism. He believed that the more developed capitalist country would show the future to the less developed. In the foreword he wrote to the first volume of "Das Kapital," he directed the following famous words to the German reader: De te fabula narratur! (The story is about you!) Lenin, after the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, supporting himself on the theoretical results of his predecessors, stressed the importance of the socialist revolutionary example in two respects. First, he pointed out that the victory of the socialist revolution and the experiences of socialist building would exercise an effect on world development, and that the revolutionary Russia, in its relations of developing peaceful coexistence would help the world revolution most of all with its political, economic and cultural successes. Secondly, it is historically inevitable that in international scope there would be a repetition of what happened in revolutionary Russia, and for this reason "we have to ascribe international significance...to certain basic features of our revolution...that they are of international value...so that the Russian model shows one thing or another to every country in the world, and moreover something very essential, inevitable ...in their future. With emphasis on the fact that the birth and development of fourteen socialist countries verified Lenin in the two respects, we shall narrow our remarks to the first question, and we will try to show what role existing socialism plays in the development of the present world and what are the main lines of the international ideological struggle in judging existing socialism.

The effect of socialist countries on the present world revolutionary process unfolds in various directions:

1. The foreign policy of countries in the socialist community, the struggle for detente and peaceful coexistence have created favorable conditions for all the revolutionary forces because they limit the aggressive nature of

imperialism and the possibilities for the imperialist export of counter-revolution.

2. The socialist countries are solidified for national independence and their social liberation, together with the masses working against capitalist oppression. They extend political, moral, material and, if necessary and possible, military help.

3. In addition, they still stand by the thesis that the example of existing socialism is the most powerful influence on the world revolutionary process. Ville Pessi, the chairman of the Finnish Communist Party, has spoken like this on the subject: "We, the communists working in capitalist countries, can say to our brothers living in socialist countries that we have no greater help than your successes in building socialism and communism. The people, the working class, ask us, 'What is socialism?' Now in replying to these questions, we are able to rely not only on the principles of Marxism-Leninism but also on the exercise of socialism and communism."

But the example of socialism is already exceeding the limits of international communism and the workers movement. In reaction to it, a two-way process is unfolding in the developed capitalist countries.

First, the monopolist bourgeoisie, feeling the weight of internal and external pressure, is compelled to make concessions to its own working class and working masses, it is compelled to try to make the capitalist social system competitive and, to this end, to employ such means and methods as were formerly used only by socialism; that is, capitalism is trying, with socialism's example, to inject itself with a new life.

J. K. Galbraith, the "father" of the theory of an affluent society was constrained in his book "The Commonwealth and Man" to the conclusion that capitalism can be made competitive and its continuation assured only if it takes over certain experiences of socialism, namely, if the state takes into hand services and large corporations, if the small industries are consolidated into cooperatives; and if the state concerns itself with arts and literature.

Secondly, the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie endeavors with all its strength, on the ideological and political plane, to lessen the strength of existing socialism's example in the eyes of its own masses. This is served above all by anti-communism and anti-Sovietism. Anti-Sovietism is the concentrated expression of anti-communism, which takes as its target, in a planned and deliberate manner, the greatest force for peace and social progress, the Soviet Union. At the same time, the indisputable economic, scientific and cultural successes of existing socialism — and above all, the Soviet Union — are strongly polarizing bourgeois ideology as well. Already there are various viewpoints in the judgment of existing socialism, and starting to be forced into the background are those notions which were born during the Cold War and which regarded socialism as the result of a violation of human nature, some kind of "total dictatorship" from which the people living therein

would have to be freed. Today the middle-class picture of socialism is determined by various sorts of the convergence theory. These seek to analyze economic development and industrial, scientific progress independently of the basic characteristics of social systems. On this basis, they arrive at the deduction that similar or identical processes are being played out in both world systems, and therefore the only final result can be the approximation and merging of the two in a common "industrial" or "post-industrial" or perhaps "service" system. The convergence theories represent the most refined response of middle-class ideology to the basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism that the main essence of our era is in the transition from capitalism to socialism, and that the main antithesis of our times (through the resolution of which this transition is being realized) is the tension between the two world systems.

The reflection of the radical change in international power relations is obvious in middle class ideology — while from a "total dictatorship" it would have been necessary to free the peoples of the socialist countries and lead them back into capitalist happiness and freedom, the convergence theory renounces the confrontation or differentiation of the social systems and harping on the question of which system is better; and in fact, it is from putting this very question that it wants to be free. In addition to the increasing successes of socialism, the basis thereof is given by the cancers of capitalism as recognized by ever-widening masses — exploitation, unemployment, crises, the decay of morals, the devaluation of the human personality, and the increase in violence. These are such social ills for which a relatively high consumption by certain exploited strata does not and cannot give remedy; and remedy is not given, nor can it be, by a rudimentary economic upturn.

The basic task of socialist ideology stems from here — not to permit the ideological struggle to be shunted to side-tracks. We must constantly keep the basic question on the agenda — which is the better system, capitalism or socialism? Which one assures a fuller human life, taking into account all the political, social, economic, cultural, civilization, consciousness, public life, and youth education components? In this comparison, the superiority of socialism is indisputable — such a comparison not only affects (if it reaches them) the masses living in the capitalist world but also the citizens of the socialist countries; particularly in the thinking of their young, it makes them conscious of the advantages and possibilities deriving from the socialist character of their social system which because of their customary and everyday nature they regard as natural and with this — willingly or unwillingly — they lessen the conscious recognition that these are "natural" only in socialism.

The problem of democracy stands in the center of bourgeois ideological attacks against existing socialism. The judgment of the role of democracy, particularly socialist democracy, has come to the forefront of the ideological struggle not for itself but because in our era the intertwining of democracy and socialism is evident on a world scale in the international

class war. The democratic watchwords are organically related to the ultimate goal, with socialism, and in this interrelation the question is raised of what social democracy is, in what can it be an example, and in what can it not be. Middle class ideology links this question with the problem of pluralism as the general ideological and political reply to communism — thereby misunderstanding both.

It is worth mentioning in this connection the speech by J. F. Kennedy, the American president who died under tragic circumstances, at California University in Berkeley in the autumn of 1962 to present a reply to the statement in the program approved by the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist Party that the future belongs to communism.

"According to the communists," said the President, "everything is building on the principles of a monolithic world, a world era in which all knowledge has one pattern, every society develops on a single model, every problem has a single solution, and every path leads to one goal. But the demand of a real understanding builds everything on the opposite idea — on the idea of a world of variety, or self-determination, freedom. This is the world to which we, as Americans, as a nation, are committed from the principles of the founding fathers of this great Republic. As men satisfy their thirst for knowledge, they create a world which will freely unite national variety with international association. This rising world is incompatible with the communist world system. This world will irresistibly tear apart communist organization, communist ideology...This variety and independence ...creates the essence of our views of the future...Whoever studies the modern world can have no doubt that the great historical events are taking the world from the monolithic idea to the idea of pluralism — away from communism to national independence and freedom."

I shall not now go into pluralism at the general theoretical plane, and I can touch only briefly on the relation of pluralism and political democracy in the various systems. Bourgeois ideology seeks to strip middle class democracy and socialist democracy from its essence, its class content and to compare them from the institutional system's viewpoint of political pluralism only. There is a simple answer to the problem of political pluralism and the related question of whether or not in socialism there may exist parties proclaiming political programs with opposing class interests — simultaneous with the process of the socialist transformation of society, which begins with the creation of political power by the working class and its allies — the period ensues in which conflicting class interests no longer exists. Therefore, in the period of developed socialist building there is no basis for a political pluralism reflecting conflicting class or strata interests. Social democracy, which from the beginning is the political power of the working class, broadens out on the ground of a strengthening national unity and embraces every citizen of the state, assures the realization of class, stratum, group and individual interests, in addition to the priority of social interest. It was exactly the liquidation of conflicting, antagonistic class differences and the political pluralism reflecting these which made it possible to realize in the socialist countries the real, actual, and if you please,

the true democracy, to give every citizen equal opportunity for developing his personal capabilities, and independently of his personal capabilities to participate as a citizen of equal rank in guiding the socialist society and every administrative and production unit thereof -- the city, the town, the village, the factory and the agricultural producer cooperative. Naturally, until we reach the classless society of communism, there will be interest differences in socialism as well, despite the existence of social classes and strata of basically the same interest. But these interest differences do not reach a level of political confrontation. Therefore, the political system of socialism affords an appropriate mechanism for bringing these differences to the surface and harmonizing them with the interests of the overall society, in which, with the political direction of the Marxist-Leninist party, indispensable roles are played by the trade unions, the mass movements, the People's Patriotic Front, many social associations fulfilling various functions, and naturally the central and local representative, administrative and self-governing organs of the state. In addition, as a consequence of the historical traditions in the various countries and other factors, political parties can also exist in developed socialism which fit organically into the political system of socialism, and realize their independent functions. But this political multi-party system does not mean political pluralism.

Political pluralism in capitalist countries, where opposing classes struggle with each other for political power is an understandable, justified and normal phenomenon. Without the assurance of political pluralism, capitalist countries would deprive the working class from the essential means and possibilities of the struggle for socialism. The identification of political pluralism with democracy in the socialist countries where there are already only working classes with the same interests which are the actual wielders of power would signify a misunderstanding of the nature of socialism.

When we speak of the motivating, exemplary strength of the socialist world system to exert influence, we cannot pass up in silence the fact that this influence is still reduced by various factors:

1. The socialist world system is not unified from the ideological-political point of view. Maoist anti-communism naturally did not increase the influence of socialism in the world revolutionary process.
2. The crisis situations which developed in certain socialist countries, for example, the 1956 Hungarian counter-revolution, the 1968 events in the CSSR, and the 1970 Polish crisis, caused certain damages to the cause of world socialism. At the same time, the liquidation of these crisis situations, the advance of the consolidation process and the recent great successes of socialism in these countries have further increased the power of attraction of our system.
3. An understanding for the inner difficulties of socialism is a hard process in working and progressive circles of capitalist countries because

they start out from an abstract view of socialist ideology and regard existing socialism as an idealistic type of system which cannot have problems and inner contradictions. We also frequently find that they expect from existing socialism the inner relations outlined in communist theory.

Naturally, to the extent that existing socialism has an effect on the development of the world revolutionary process, the judgment of it will be emphasized in circles where the example has an influence. In this connection, the attempts are normal which the revolutionary forces in the capitalist or third world are making to judge existing reality in the socialist countries and to analyze the useful experiences. This analysis cannot be a one-sided apology or a one-sided criticism. The scientific analysis of reality in existing socialism, the discovery of the laws of its birth and development trends on the basis of Marxist-Leninist theory and method increases its strength and influence in the countries that are not yet socialist.

At the same time, the familiarization of the socialist example by the working masses of the developed capitalist countries is a very difficult task because by the means of the socialist countries alone it is very hard to break the manipulative influence of the bourgeoisie on the masses and dispel the fog curtains of bourgeois slanders. Therefore, it is necessary that by way of unity and cooperation between the socialist world system and sister parties operating in other social systems we broaden the influence of the exemplary strength of existing socialism and disseminate the truth about socialist countries in the developed capitalist countries. This — according to our conviction — is one of the important means of deepening the world revolutionary process.

International Relations as an Objective Process

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 28-32

[Speech by Gyula Bognar: "International Relaxation as an Objective Process of the Present World Situation"]

[Text] From the beginning, the political and social struggle against imperialism developed with an international character, because the normal tendency of capitalist production is to draw the entire world into the sphere of its exploitative economic activity and for the capitalists to dominate and despoil the people. The solidarity, unity of the people against this exploitative and oppressive trend, as the logic of a necessary battle, was born as the recognition of common interests and has developed into a moral principle of high order.

The importance of solidarity and a coordinated struggle is not declining but increasing and in certain countries the power of the exploiters has been overthrown. In the possession of state power, the workers can help their class brothers much better than formerly, and at the same time their interests are enhanced in the achievements of a coordinated class war, for now they can lose more than their chains. In any event, it continues to be a matter of common and mutual interests. It is a generally recognized fact that the achievements of the socialist states can play a great role in developing

international conditions favorable to the other driving forces of the international revolutionary process, but on the other hand neither can they do without the life-giving atmosphere of international solidarity and the effective weapon of international unit.

As for the MSZMP, our ideological position as formulated by Comrade Kadar has become well known that the Party feels a responsibility both toward the Hungarian people and the international working class and that it wants to meet by its deeds both lines of responsibility. This is not only a principle of the party's activity but grasping rationally the essence of the matter, it is also the leading principle of the socialist state's foreign policy. It expresses the fact that the overthrow of bourgeois power and the building of socialism in our country is an integral part of the international revolutionary movement and that we see an essential interrelationship, a necessary mutual relationship, between the revolutionary process and international progress.

In my talk, I wish to deal with one side of this two-way interrelationship, with the effect exercised by the foreign policy of a socialist state on the revolutionary process, more exactly with one timely element of this effect, international detente.

Detente touches on the relations of states with conflicting social organization. Hence if we study the whole foreign policy activity of a socialist state, we are speaking of a process in one sector of it. The foreign policy of a socialist state is only one sphere of the international class war, and thus projected on this broader plane it is clearer where the process of international detente is situated in the extremely broad struggle, covering the entire social horizon, which is being waged against imperialism.

I would like, however, to call attention to the fact the defining the position of detente is in no way the same as defining its importance. It hardly needs to be shown that the main forces of the irreconcilable class war which defines the character of our age and the direction of social development is situated exactly on the front line which is affected by detent. To the extent that the above-mentioned main forces of the class war have an important influence on the outcome of the whole class war, this important role cannot be disputed for detente either, or for the new features of the struggle among the main powers. To put it another way, the relationship between capitalist and socialist states, the relationship of the two confronting politico-military blocs or the relationship of the Soviet Union and the United States affect essentially alike the international revolutionary process. Therefore, it is necessary for us to analyze the nature of international detente when we examine the position of the main forces of the world revolutionary process unfolding against imperialism.

By the process of international detente, we understand above all those new political phenomena observable for several years which are developing in the relationship of the two confronting military bloc states, and the common feature is their withdrawal from armed confrontation on a world scale and

the realigning of the struggle between the two irreconcilable social systems to peaceful means, above all to economic competition and the field of ideological struggle.

It is customary to speak of detente policy also in the sense that it is a more or less complex, program-type undertaking of the process of international detente. Such program-type, political statements are generalized forms of political phenomena occurring in reality, but in given instances they can be divorced from reality. To put it another way, positive or negative announcements related to detente policy are not identical with detente itself, with the facts of political reality. This observation appears necessary not only because certain imperialist political leaders have characteristically revised their earlier statements in the interest of domestic political maneuvering. We also need to point out that positive statements are in themselves not sufficient for the real advance of the process.

If we differentiate the phenomena of international political practice which we include under the name of "detente" from the above-mentioned program-type of positions, we are all the more justified in differentiating a third layer as well, the deeper causes which have led to detente.

In the title to my talk, I called detente the objective process of the present world situation. Those objective factors which led of necessity to the shaping of the detente process developed, to be sure, in international class warfare itself.

In many places they have made these objective factors the subject of study, which I cannot now analyze in detail in my talk. Instead I shall only link the factors which are usually spoken of with more or less unanimity as the springs of detente.

Above all, it is a matter of a change in the power relations of capitalism and socialism on a world scale. There are very many factors which affect power relations, and a detailed study of them would lead us far from the subject now under discussion. But even without analyzing the change in power relations, the final conclusion is obvious that the power relations have changed clearly in favor of socialism. This change promotes the trend of detente in two senses. On one hand, it strengthens the camp of those who fight with peaceful means, and on the other hand — as the other side of the above factor — it narrows the mobility possibilities of the believers in armed confrontation.

It hardly needs to be shown that the above-described shift in power relations is of necessity a forward-moving process over the long run, the objectivity of which, in the final analysis, derives from the superiority of a socialist society over capitalism.

In addition to the general transformation of power relations, we need to point specially to the changes in the techniques of warfare as a very

important objective process also leading to detente. On one hand, the changes in military techniques form a very important part in the power relations between capitalism and socialism, for the successes which the Soviet Union has achieved in this field are of unforeseeable importance. But it is not merely this matter of which we speak, but in addition, further interrelations are to be taken into account.

The development of the techniques of warfare have gone so far in the nuclear field that both sides have several times as many weapons as necessary for the annihilation of mankind. This fact includes the relation then that the believers of "the first strike" in the United States are compelled to count on the inevitability of a counter-strike with annihilating capability. This is the point where nuclear threats are counter-productive, and the development of military techniques, on their own, also exert a parallel effect for a detente trend.

Here I must refer to Engels' ingeniously forward-looking observation that the development of military techniques would arrive at the point where its application would become impossible because of its high level of development and strength. Essentially, we are speaking of the arrival of that phase where the one who uses nuclear weapons must reckon with its terrible effects as much as the one it is used against.

We must point to the objective processes leading to detente by studying also the constantly advancing and very fast process of production internationalization. This internal law of the development of producer forces is realized on the very complicated and contradictory ground of the capitalist world economy. In our times, the crisis in the capitalist world economy is intertwined both with overproduction and scarcity management, serious and acute financial disturbances, etc., which are increasingly difficult to regulate with the help of the economic-political means available to imperialism. The classic means of dealing with economic problems by heightening war tensions or causing war to erupt looks not too purposeful and realizable under modern power relations and the political situation. All these interrelations of an economic nature also exert pressure in the direction of political detente.

Hence such processes are unfolding in the change of power relations, the development of military technique, and the economy which with more or less uniformity point toward the need for relaxation between states in confrontation, and the development of peaceful relations. We may also put it this way that the characteristic development in the confrontation of opposing states under present relations can lead to an identity of interests in the areas indicated.

It is to be noted that in addition to the limited identity of interests which arose during the confrontation development, there is another kind of identity of interest as a result of so-called general human causes. We are speaking here of such well-known problems as, for example, human environmental protection and other similar problems of great importance. With the decline

of Cold War tensions, these problems may be put on the agenda in suitable forums, and when the mechanism for the solution is in existence, this will increase, to a significant extent, the common interests of the opposing sides.

In following the objective processes leading to detente, therefore, we found certain common interests. In order for these interests actually to bring about and strengthen detente itself, we must recognize and realize them in mutually advantageous political action, or forms. To put it otherwise, objective processes tending toward detente can lead to actual detente only with the mediation of a phase with a subjective nature.

At this point, it appears necessary to note that the contradictions of the detente process, the occasional imbalances, the regressions from time to time, etc. are natural accompaniments of this unprecedentedly complicated political phenomenon. If we did not see this, then we would be building on illusions not real social processes. It has already been noted with varying emphasis that detente cannot be a one-way process. Here let me refer to the thought that detente cannot be attained through the desire of one of the opposing sides. For this, both sides are necessary, while one side alone can provoke an increase in tension.

In the phenomena of detente, we have to do with a very important and radically new process unfolding in one of the phases of the class war, a process which is building on actual economic, political and technical processes but which can be realized only by way of an unflagging political struggle.

The responsibility of the social sciences is very great in the research of new phenomena relating to detente, but its political responsibility is even greater in creating appropriate conditions and in clarifying the intention of political effort. It follows from the foregoing, but it is also obvious in itself, that it is an absurdity to seek for detente without the will for detente, while standing on the ground of growing tension, and striving for it.

It is not accidental that the socialist countries discovered the possibilities for detente much sooner than imperialism, and started the fight for the realization of this opportunity. The socialist policy directed at detente finds an approving reaction in the world because it meets in its entirety with the masses' desire for peace. It is a source of great political strength that it is socialism which conceives a whole series of popular political goals favorable to the masses. This is not a coincidence but a logical consequence of the class nature of socialist policy.

The strategic concept of the socialist world, essentially since the 20th Congress of the Soviet Union's Communist Party, includes detente. The possibility of maintaining peace goes necessarily together with emphasis on the peaceful resolution of conflicts and with the trend toward liquidating the Cold War confrontation. The 20th Congress saw the birth of the concepts conceived in realities which referred to the new trends of revolutionary transformation

within international political relations gradually being transformed, dissolving the apparent contradiction between efforts at peace and the need to further the revolutionary struggle.

The strategic concept of socialism to which I referred is still in effect; it has not required revision, while the imperialist world concept is struggling with a crisis. The United States is now compelled to face the fact that it can try to realize its former strategic goals only by way of a world, nuclear conflict. It appears that the government circles do not want to risk this, but they are also hesitant and reluctant to enter on the only other possible road, the conscious undertaking of relaxation and the gradual development of peaceful coexistence.

A policy which consistently undertakes relaxation, struggles to make existing results irreversible and solid is at a great tactical advantage. Within a foreseeable time, the relaxation policy can overcome the contradictory trends which frequently appear in the distorted interpretation of detente. Those attempts are well known which seek to bring in the ideological struggle and the support for wars of liberation as ways to do away with detente, or to bring the socialist countries to ideological concessions. These demands have been rejected in the past, and obviously this will be their fate in the future, too.

On the other hand, we need to point out that imperialism has prospects even with detente. Detente is such a transformation in the relations of the opposing sides that the class war is conducted on a more favorable terrain and under peaceful conditions. But the battles in the class war continue to be "ambiguous"; there is no automatism to produce our successes in our stead, not even if we have no doubt in the final outcome of the battle.

In the 1920's, the expression "parliamentary cretinism" was widespread among us when the revolutionary movement was at its ebb and social democracy carried on a lukewarm parliamentary sham battle. This is how the characteristic phenomenon was defined by the workers of the class war, who being divorced from concrete relations and achievements rendered absolute the shocking effect of the First World War and regarded the parliamentary struggle, exclusively as purposeful.

I bring up this example to point out that we cannot now permit the development of some kind of "detente cretinism". Our detente policy does not mean that we are rendering absolute one point of the class war and disregarding the others. It is simply that we are boldly discovering the new phenomena of political reality and are no less boldly using those forms of battle which are the most purposeful amid the given relations. But we cannot exclude the possibility that in other spheres, in other phases of the struggle, other forms and means will come to the forefront.

At the present, however, we cannot avoid a responsible accounting of that new cluster of phenomena which we, by way of abbreviation, refer to as detente.

On one hand, I have tried to point out that this phenomenon is coming in our times from the processes of a real and objective nature unfolding on one front of the class war, on the other hand, in undertaking detente, the struggle for it is not, on our part, some kind of strategic change of concept, but a consistent furthering of our policy up to now. To say yes to peaceful co-existence is to agree to the struggle for the realization and extension of detente, for it is with the help of detente that we can bridge the gap between the Cold War and the crisis without war.

We cannot permit rendering detente absolute, because this would leach ideology and solidarity from the revolutionary movement, and would therefore strip it of its perspectives and inner cohesion. Rejection of the detente process, on the other hand, would constrain the socialist states into a posture of Cold War confrontation, and the nuclear war trend is clearly unfavorable for the international revolutionary process whether we look at the tasks and goals of the international working class or the liberation movements. Many new tasks are emerging from the soil of detente which must inevitably be adjusted to the parts of the revolutionary process; but indisputably this is the area where we can develop the real qualities of social forces marshalling against imperialism and which are superior to imperialism. Here the elements of a truly human interest system indicates the decisive factor -- the factors of production, social relations and cultural progress.

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Attack Against Jiri Hajek

Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 8 March 77 p 4

[Article: "Facts About J. Hajek"]

[Text] On Sunday the Czechoslovak Television's evening program of television news broadcast a commentary about Jiri Hajek. Because of its importance, we present that information today.

The communication media in the West usually offer their readers and listeners curricula vitae, detailed biographical data on the people in the news. As it appears, that is not so in the case of Prof. Jiri Hajek. Could it be that the always up-to-date files in their editorial offices are lacking data about him? In that case, let's assist them.

His father was an orthodox member of the Social Democratic Party and so was the son. Like father like son. Since his early youth Hajek was active in social democratic youth groups. During the occupation the Fascists arrested and imprisoned him. A little remark should be made here: in prison in Germany he was exempt from physical labor and provided systematic medical care, which was very unusual. The war helped open the eyes of many social democrats, particularly the young ones. They linked their lives with the communist movement. No so Jiri Hajek. He went right back to the Social Democratic Party and despite his youth he became a member of its central committee. At that time, as a social democrat, he was among the leading representatives of the Union of Czechoslovak Youth and of the Central Council of Trade Unions.

When the bourgeois reaction together with the social democratic right wing were defeated in February 1948, he readily switched to the left and with its ranks he joined the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. He even became a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia. Of course, for him that was just the beginning. Prof. Hajek enjoyed special favors under the Novotny regime. He was appointed ambassador to Great Britain

and then the CSR representative in the UN as well as in the Security Council. What a solid political career this conspicuously inconspicuous man has achieved! In the mid-1960's President Novotny appointed him to the office of minister of education and culture. Prof. Jiri Hajek was such a trustworthy man and moreover, he conscientiously used to do his calisthenics every morning, and such a systematic conditioning and preparation paid off: he won one of the first positions among those who, early in 1968, were racing from the left to the right. He discarded his mask of inconspicuousness and again proved to be a true pupil of his social democratic tutors.

He might have been overly zealous. He unmasked his ego much too prematurely, but that happened--as Ludvik Vaculik admitted in DIE WELT--because the then politicians lacked sufficient experience. Prof. Hajek proved that in spite of the long years of his membership in the CPCZ, he remained a social democrat through and through with all that it implies. Let us quote one of his statements from his interview published in a January issue of SPIEGEL: "Our action is initiated by citizens who do not consider this time opportune for thorough reforms but is right for keeping as a reality that which has been legalized by statutes."

We certainly do appreciate the fact that Prof. Hajek makes no basic objections to our reality. Except for one which is so typical for his social democratic soul, namely, that he is not pulling the strings himself.

Attack Against Vaclav Havel

Prague LIDOVÁ DEMOKRACIE in Czech 10 March 77 p 3

[Article by (ctk)[Czechoslovak News Agency]: "Who Is Vaclav Havel?"]

[Text] Last evening the Czechoslovak Radio broadcast a news program about one of the initiators of the so-called Charter 77, a documentary entitled "Who Is Vaclav Havel?" Today we present a substantial excerpt from that program.

Vaclav Havel was born on 5 October 1936 to a family of filthy rich millionaires. The Barrandov film studios, the Lucerna restaurants, the Havlov lodge in the Ceskomoravska vysocina, which included 1,400 hectares of forest that they leased annually, apartment houses by the river in Prague--all that belonged to Mr Havel's noble family. That sure was enough to begin with. Their property would have certainly been enlarged even more by exploitation of their employees. However...the year 1945 and then 1948 came. Those years considerably shuffled the cards and changed the fate of Havel's noble family.

As he stated in his curriculum vitae--Vaclav Havel began his study at the eleven-grade secondary school with average marks, after which he went to work for the Fuel Institute in Prague. While there, he completed the evening courses of the secondary school and after graduation he applied for and was admitted to the Department of Economic Engineering of the Czech Institute of Technology. So magnanimously has our socialist state treated the millionaire's scion who now allegedly misses genuine democracy in our country. Nevertheless V. Havel found that he had made a wrong decision and before the end of the fourth semester he dropped out. After he returned from the basic military service, Havel worked in Prague at the ABC Theater as a stage hand; later he performed the same work in the Theater Na Zabradli in Prague. In 1961, he began to study drama by correspondence at the Academy of Fine Arts, which evidently resulted in his promotion in the theater: the stage hand became a script reader and assistant dramaturgist. All that time V. Havel kept numerous "interesting contacts" with individuals in the capitalist states. His uncle Milos lived in Munich until his death in 1968, and another uncle Ivan Vavrecka resided in the United States (and later in Argentina). Both of them had emigrated from Czechoslovakia after 1948, i.e., after their property had been nationalized and they had lost political power and influence. Vaclav Havel, however, did not have contacts with his relatives only; through them he was in touch also with many other individuals of anti-communist orientation. His uncle Milos owned in Munich the Goldenes Prag restaurant which used to be then, and still is, a haven and a meeting place for Czechoslovak emigres, and let us add, also a place where various actions against our socialist system have been hatched. We say "have been hatched," but as a matter of fact, they had been hatched before and in Munich (as well as in many other cities of West Europe) it was just a question of recruiting people who could and would--for proper fees, of course--execute such plans.

In the early 1960's V. Havel, the millionaire's scion, appeared on the stage which brings world fame. But not as a mere actor--as a producer, playwright, poet. Comrade Tomas Rezac met him then.

"I met V. Havel for the first time," T. Rezac says, "sometime in 1962 or 1963 at the Viola wine tavern which used to offer music and poetry readings...V. Havel brought there his first, unpublished collection of poems and circulated it around the table...I do not want to claim hindsight wisdom, but V. Havel impressed me as an exceedingly self-confident, exceedingly conceited individual. It was obvious that he was proud of his family's history. V. Havel was a man who obviously looked down upon the people around him. One thing about him was peculiar: he always would rather listen than talk. He tried to remember and then, as I have found out recently, he would write down what the people around him talked about. Since the beginning one thing about V. Havel was interesting: he always kept in touch with artists and dilettantes on the other side of the barricades, with those who lived in a kind of comfortable semi-illegality--with people who fed him all

sorts of stuff. In some of his verses, as far as I remember them, Havel was literally indebted to Jiri Kolar's collections written during and after the war. That name is now forgotten, that kind of poetry is no longer published and will not be published again...J. Kolar, a follower of some kind of an American civilism movement, artificially created hell from life...V. Havel assumed the same stance. Although at that particular time there was a tremendous interest in young talents, nobody would publish his collections of poetry. From that experience V. Havel learned one lesson. If he is not to be able to make it the usual way, he would break into the literary, so to speak, "through the back door."

In 1963, V. Havel wrote his first independent play--"The Garden Party"-- which was presented that same year at the Theater Na Zabradli. And thus the millionaire's scion began to be regarded--particularly according to some reviews--as an outstanding dramatic talent, as an excellent analyst of social conditions; he was described also as a speaker for a "certain strata" of the young intelligentsia. Havel's popularity considerably increased after the staging of "The Garden Party" in the GRF. There are no doubts that his ideological allies helped him to that triumph--we may find evidence thereof in our own as well as in the foreign press. Were "The Garden Party" and Havel's later plays really such exceptional works of art? Before we attempt to analyze briefly V. Havel's dramatic work, let us consider how-- or rather why--his play reached the stage in the West so fast.

In an interview with journalists in 1964 Mr Havel modestly mentioned that his work had reached foreign countries more or less by fluke..."Someone heard about my play; it was recommended to the Rowohlt publishing company in Hamburg whose drama department has an extraordinary promotional program for its plays, not at any price, but in accordance with the type of the text."

Dr Sava Sabouk says: "Let us briefly recall the message of that play. Two levels are interwoven through it: in the first one various shortcomings of our life are artificially blown up, famous ideas are parodied, and Marxist dialectics is inconspicuously presented as a conglomeration of absurd contradictions with amoral hidden meaning. The other level functions on the basis of statistical predominance. It tries incessantly to strengthen the impression that everything that is human in socialism is deformed and therefore, it has to be liquidated, destroyed. And I think that it would be difficult to characterize a social type more vividly than the character of Hugo in "The Garden Party," the same Hugo who at the end of the play offers the following lesson:

'...He who in a certain situation knows how not to exist to some extent, can, on the other hand, exist so much more in another situation. I don't know whether you want to exist more or to exist less...but I always want to exist and therefore, I must always be a little nonexistent...and if at this moment

I do not exist enough, I assure that soon I may be able to exist perhaps so much more... and then we can have a chat about all these things again, but on a slightly different level.'

"Yes, such individuals are capable of anything---and therefore it is useful to analyze their way of life, their customs and their very strange mimicry among which is the already mentioned poignant concern for freedom of expression, of scientific discussion, of criticism, and so on. Discussions are going on incessantly on the pages of our scientific and cultural publications. I myself have participated and am taking part now in numerous polemics--and nobody has so much as ruffled one hair on my head! And what is more: those with whom I have been involved in such polemics have had the right to reply (and most of them have also used it) (!)--and they are still alive and well. However, I wish to emphasize that all of our polemics are concerned with the search for scientific truth, the wealth of artistic expression and similar topics--never with slanderous campaigns.

"Several Marxist literary theoreticians (among them, for instance, Prof Vitezslav Rzounek) uncovered the hidden meaning of the play as soon as "The Garden Party" was published. They were not the only ones. The rank-and-file members of the communist party as well as individuals without political affiliation in their letters to the editors asked the same question--i.e., who is Vaclav Havel, with whom and against what is he so militantly crusading. Of course, we would not expect this millionaire's scion to be engaged in the cause of socialism, to constructively reflect certain shortcomings in the life of our society, or perhaps to help solve them. Mr Havel's intent was quite explicit: to attack the very substance of the socialist system. For that reason the text of his play fully corresponded to the aims of these persons who endeavored to introduce it on the West German stage. And therefore, his plays have been so enthusiastically promoted and supported also by the emigre groups in the West, even though some of his "friends" had known about them even before they were staged in our country."

Let us hear again from T. Rezac: "Vaclav Havel really tried to get in the theaters of all the states in West Europe. He wanted to establish himself also in the United States. His success there was more or less dubious; it was doubtful because V. Havel tried to be cosmopolitan. He watered down and copied Ionesco, Beckett, A. Jarry. And when he did reach the Western stage, it was but a fleeting success. His dramas were not presented as dramatic works but as a political expression in the worst sense of that word--as an advertisement for anti-communism. Evidently they failed to captivate the viewers who had seen similar ideological and spiritual creations a hundred times before--presented better and more impressively since they were authentic. Most of the viewers in the West turned away from V. Havel's dramatic work. There remained only a certain political purpose, a purpose fully premeditated and well-aimed."

V. Havel had direct and indirect contacts with Pavel Tigrid, a notorious CIA agent, and with many other Czechoslovak emigres, mostly collaborators of Western intelligence agencies. Upon direct urging by Vera Blackwell, nee Jakesova, a Czechoslovak emigre and a former Radio Free Europe employee, Havel joined the staff of the TVAR magazine in 1964, first as a contributor then as a member of its editorial staff. The purpose of this move was more than obvious--it concerned a direct influence over a wider circle of readers, an influence over those social groups with whose aid one could begin a political struggle for power.

The TVAR monthly published by the Union of Czechoslovak Writers was intended primarily for the young generation of writers. Those were the intentions... However, the policy of its editorial staff where Havel gradually gained a decisive position soon began deviating from such an objective. Numerous efforts of its editorial board have been revealed for instance in the article: "Editors' Letter to Future Authors as Well as to Those Who Will Not Become Writers."

From that letter we quote: "To those of you who are now seeking ways to establish yourselves as authors we want to offer ample opportunity on the pages of our monthly and thus, to promote the crystallization of a new literary generation arising in conditions different from those which existed in the period after the 20th congress, when we were beginning to publish our works in magazines...The yardstick used by our magazine for judging the works by new authors now and in the future is the same as the yardstick applied to the works by authors already established in TVAR. On the other hand, of course, the nature of our publication imposes certain limitations: we shall abstain from publishing even talented authors whose views on the matters of art and society are distant from ours, particularly if we do not regard their attitudes as progressive."

Observe how democratic they used to be! Those who are not progressive enough--understand: rightist progressive--have nothing to look for in TVAR! However, that was not the only "right" assumed by the self-appointed editors of TVAR. They would not allow anyone, not even the supporters of this leadership, to interfere with the concept of their journal. Therefore, let us take a closer look at its policy.

Philosophical and philosophical-esthetic essays which that magazine published certainly are not without significance for its ideological orientation. For instance, it presented essays by M. Heidegger, L. Klima, G. Trakl, and others. The journal devoted considerable space to Teilhard de Chardin's ideas.

Quite logically, the editors of the magazine which claimed to support socialist positions should have logically assumed a critical attitude to the non-Marxist views it published. Nothing of that sort happened, however.

The TVAR magazine heralded ideas which were quite alien to socialism and thus, it was no wonder that it stirred heated discussions. The representatives of TVAR defended themselves claiming: "For us socialism is a natural foundation; we feel sorry that you have doubts about that! We are serving the young generation!"

However, the reality was quite different. Already in its second year, the number of new names declined considerably. Those who remained (or rather those who were allowed to stay) were individuals professing non-materialistic philosophy and idealistic attitudes toward life, or those who pretended to be experimenting with the search for the meaning of human existence, but who only repeated experiments over half a century old.

Because the authors appearing on the pages of TVAR were neither extensively read nor very young, the editorial board was forced to turn its attention to literary criticism. Of course, despite all the big words about honesty, seriousness, etc., even here we have witnessed a vulgarization of Marxist esthetics, a shameless rejection of the true socialist literature, of its authors and of those theoreticians who in their search after the truth were unwaveringly adhering to Marx-Leninist principles; we have witnessed attempts to rehabilitate various reactionary philosophical ideas (for instance, those of Masaryk); we have witnessed the crushing criticism of the dialectical and historical materialism. All that was done in the name (or under the guise) of "revitalization" of the Marxist theory.

The national artist F. Hrubin reacted to that situation as follows: "Man is entitled to make a gesture only if it is based on knowledge, or perhaps if it is a small but firm downpayment for a future work, most of all, however, if at least a spark of "divine rascality" lurks behind such a gesture, as it had more than forty years ago in young Nezval's case. Then such a gesture keeps really flashing for forty or fifty years."

In case of the editors of the TVAR magazine, however, this was just a matter of rascality and nothing more. The activity of TVAR naturally showed some political effects which, among other things, included the demand for rehabilitation of Prof V. Cerny's KRITICKY MESICNIK and Chalupecky's and Grossman's LISTY once published by the Melantrich publishing company. It was more than obvious that the TVAR monthly was becoming a political arena which echoed anti-socialist voices. Those voices differed in one respect from those of the pre-February era--they disguised themselves with pseudosocialist rightist phrases.

When, upon the recommendation of the Central Committee of the CPCZ, the leadership of the Union of Czechoslovak Writers decided to take measures to protect the ideological orientation of that monthly, the editorial board of TVAR and its followers decided to publicize their claims. By personal agitation they tried to extend the circle of their willing supporters. This

'benign' activity lacked neither demagoguery nor intrigue. TVAR--or rather its editorial board--shamelessly accused of schematism and bureaucratic methods anyone who adhered unswervingly to Marx-Leninist principles. Finally, the editorial board (after some unsuccessful crusades) decided to discontinue the publication. However, it did not cease its hectic activity: petition-and article-writing, collecting of signatures by which it intended to force a change of the statutes of the Writers' Union and a convocation of a special conference.

It is not difficult to guess what the editorial board of TVAR intended to achieve: the resumption of publication of that magazine and legalization of ideological factions which disagreed with Marxism. Specifically, this concerned an active group of young writers, whose ideological objectives were identical with the aims of the editorial board of TVAR. This was planned to take place on the platform of the Writers' Union--for the purpose to consolidate the position of the allegedly "independent" authors and to curtail the influence of those who were striving for a closer unity of literature with the life of our nation, the problems and joys encountered by the people on their way to socialism. It is not without interest that even some of the older writers, known for their anti-socialist attitudes, such as Prof V. Cerny, J. Kilar, J. Hirsal, Urbanek, Chalupecky and others, demonstrated interest in the aktiv of young authors.

The problems surrounding the TVAR magazine, however, were to be introduced also on an international forum. Pavel Tigrid was in charge of that whole matter. In 1966, he invited V. Havel (who was not a member) to a meeting of the Pen Club--an international writers' organization--in New York. Czechoslovak emigre writers were to appear there to agitate against the so-called oppression of artists in Czechoslovakia, which was to be evidenced by the TVAR magazine and its editors. Vaclav Havel was supposed to prepare an address for that meeting based on a resolution of the emigre authors, which Prof V. Cerny had brought back from Tigrid. From some other individuals, for instance, Robert Warner, the U.S. cultural attache in Czechoslovakia, Havel learned about the provocations planned for the Pen Club meeting.

From the above it is evident that Havel and his group were backed--and given substantial support--by some "influential personalities" of the foreign and domestic reaction. This support was both moral and material, including specific advice--when, how and with what demands to appear or from which social groups to recruit additional supporters and allies. Havel was really receptive to advice, particularly to that of Prof Cerny. He consulted him about most of the planned actions: before appearing at the 4th Congress of Czechoslovak Writers; he consulted him on how to proceed in founding the aktiv of young authors or the club of the so-called independent writers.

Havel declared: "I do not deny that the procedure which I am proposing may often involve considerable risks and that many things could turn worse

instead of better. But nothing ventured, nothing gained. This simply means that one should never get used to anything, one never should be resigned to anything, one must keep insisting--effectively and at the same time wisely--on one's rights, one's demands, one's conception." Vaclav Havel, the millionaire's scion, made this confession in public in 1969, nevertheless, for several years before that he was trying to follow this program--to liquidate everything connected with socialism and socialist culture. He and his "friends" rejected all the values created under socialism and because of socialism; they created their own category of values and established their own moral criteria which the Czech writers were supposed to follow in their lives and in their creative work. They determined which works were progressive and which were not; they offered ample space on the pages of their magazine to those writers who agreed with their intentions, and promoted them by all means at their disposal: by system of reviews, polls, quotations, and interviews. Their aim, of course, was to affix them in the readers' consciousness. In fact, that was how their concept of democracy and freedom appeared in reality.

Were they aware of the absurdity of their demands? Did they realize that not only the party and government authorities, the leadership of the Writers' Union, but even the realistically thinking writers and readers would never agree with them? Of course, these gentlemen completely disregarded the readers' opinion. They regarded any of the readers' objections or disagreement with the work of art or opinions they presented as an attack against the creative freedom, as an attack on the sacred art bestowed solely on the artist, because he can look at the world, the social development from any point of view which he himself considers correct.

V. Havel formulated similar views also before the 4th Congress of the Czechoslovak Writers. The fact that he was more tactical in his address there than for instance Vaculik does not mean that his objectives and intentions were more democratic or more humane. He only followed the admonition of his counsel, Prof Cerny: "The main thing is not to win once and then lose everything! We shall be satisfied if we gain something." To gain something--at that time it meant to make inroads into the leadership of the Union. After all, that position opened possibilities for influencing cultural policies and at an opportune time, even an open attack against the leadership of the party and the state.

In the conclusion of his address to the congress, V. Havel summarized in seven points his demands to the leadership of the Writers' Union. In his "specific proposals," as he called them, he demanded, among other things, that the Union permit the activity of "various"--i.e., also antisocialist--groups of artists; he demanded that the congress instruct the central committee to learn as soon as possible which of the Czech and Slovak writers were outside the Union as a result of previous regulations, and that it offer them membership as well as satisfaction. However foolish this may sound,

what Havel meant to say was that our socialist society was supposed to apologize to or even beg for forgiveness those who once attempted to destroy it.

Let us look at the writers whom Havel had in mind: Prof V. Cerny, Jan Patocka, Bedrich Fucik, Jindrich Chalupecky, Josef Palivec, and many others. What could these writers contribute to socialist literature? Nothing! They were neither able nor willing to enrich it. All they were interested in was to carry on their reactionary program dating from the pre-February era.

Although the crisis which culminated in 1968 and 1969 had severely affected our culture and literature, in a relatively short time they were able to regain their strength. They did not even have time to notice the loss of such "impressive talent" as the right wing described V. Havel. However, how was Mr Havel coping with the loss of his position and influence?

He never ceased attacking the socialist system and the socialist culture. He has written and still keeps writing letters, all kinds of proclamations as well as various dramatic pieces and propaganda plays which his "friends" in the West are publishing with appropriate commentaries. They are glad to publish them since they have ordered them from Havel: Every political attack against the socialist Czechoslovakia and its allies, untrue and biased as it may be, excellently suits the anticommunist propaganda.

Havel's little dramatic pieces which are more or less autobiographical are being staged, mostly on the West German stage, broadcast on radio and television, but nobody has attempted to ascertain their artistic value. Why? Again, T. Rezac answers that question: "A poll of bourgeois newsmen in 1971 found the Swiss daily NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG (viewed from the bourgeois point of view) to be the best and most objective newspaper in the West. I know that this particular daily refused to publish any reviews of Havel's plays. If they turned their backs on their ideological fellow traveler who sings their song--Lieber tot als rot, which means: Better dead than red--that already says enough about the dramatic qualities of V. Havel's creative work.

When then are Havel's plays produced at all?

This concerns one thing only: to document the existence of the so-called other culture in Czechoslovakia, so to say, the illegal culture as opposed to the culture which in their opinion is evil, deceitful, official. V. Havel, for instance, boasts that his plays have been produced on Broadway. You can find anything on Broadway, from third-rate burlesque shows to really excellent professional theater. As far as I know, Havel has reached about the middle of that range with the aid of his friends and buddies, and even that required considerable financial backing.

Who was so generous as to disregard the sizeable investments and the question of their return?

T. Rezac delcared: "Usually I don't like to drop names, but Dr George Domajer, a collaborator of the West German BND [Federal Intelligence Service] told me in 1971: 'We shall promote the Czechoslovak illegal culture. We shall support it through second and third persons or second and third institutions, so as to remain invisible.' And those funds--whether from the United States or West German intelligence or from other intelligence agencies--provided backing for V. Havel."

To that we shall add that no only did he receive such support in the past, he is still receiving it. Havel's determination to stand in opposition to socialism at any cost does not show any signs of abating. On the contrary-- he is arousing even those who would prefer to shut themselves off and passively await what the future will bring.

Vaclav Havel will go on fighting for his share in the political campaign waged by the imperialist forces against Czechoslovakia and thus, also against the other socialist countries. He will go on preaching morality, human rights, personal freedom; he will denigrate and slander the achievements of millions of our people. After all, Havel has never been known as a "bene-factor of mankind" and his real views on democracy and freedom are notorious. He became alienated from the country where we live and which is his native land. His pro-imperialist views, even though very cunningly masked in various parables about "human-wide problems," will not impress anyone in our country. Our people--the workers in industry and in cooperative farms, and the working intelligentsia--have really learned their lesson well; they know full well who Vaclav Havel and his allies really are. Nobody from "the outside" needs to teach them where is the truth and where is the lie. After all, the people have demonstrated what they think about Mr Havel and other such hirelings by the unanimous rejection of the pamphlet Charter 77.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA

VACLAV DOLEZAL SCORES WESTERN VIEW OF INFORMATION EXCHANGE

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Feb and 10 Feb 77 p 6

[Article by Vaclav Dolezal: "A Fraud Under the Slogan of 'Free Flow' -- Concerning the Substance of One Reactionary Humbug"]

[9 Feb 77, p 6]

[Text] In recent years, enormous changes have been taking place in the world. The situation on our planet is changing rapidly. One of the most effective manifestations of the new stage in international relations has been the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, whose significance remains unmatched. Now the hopes of the European--and not only of the European--nations for a peaceful future are firmly anchored in the obligations adopted by the participants in the conference, i.e., consistent fulfillment of the accepted international principles of relations between states as stipulated in the Final Act.

The core of the Final Act adopted in Helsinki is expressed in the Declaration of Principles which will guide the relations of the participating states. This declaration which many of the cold war proponents would like to forget may be truly regarded as the charter of peaceful coexistence. It contains 10 points, including the following two:

--Sovereign equality, respect for the rights stemming from sovereignty. These rights include each state's legal equality, territorial integrity, freedom and political independence. The participating states took upon themselves the obligation that they will mutually respect the right to freely choose and develop their own political, social, economic and cultural systems, as well as the right to determine their own laws and regulations.

--Non-intervention in internal affairs. Any forms of intervention--direct or indirect, individual or collective--are prohibited. In agreement therewith the participating states must abstain from any direct or indirect support of terrorism, subversion or other activity designed to overthrow by force the government of another participating state.

It is in connection with these two principles of the declaration that it is necessary to mention the uproar with which the organs of reactionary propaganda accompanied even the preparation of the agreements on another part of the Final Act, namely, the accord on cooperation in the areas of humanitarian activity. Even now we are witnessing a new, coordinated campaign with a clear intent--to undermine the foundations of the building of Europe's peace which was strengthened in Helsinki, and to confuse the public prior to the scheduled meeting in Belgrade. One of its fashionable slogans is the so called "free flow of information." The bourgeois propaganda is extolling it as almost the foremost factor of international relations, thus trying to exploit this slogan for actions detrimental to precisely one of the fundamental demands of the Helsinki 'Basket Three'--mutual understanding between nations.

Testimony of a Nazi Bulletin

Mankind has had its experiences with the interpretation of said slogan which was used as a smokescreen to camouflage the intrigues against state sovereignty and to interfere in other states' internal affairs with the aid of mass communication media. Our nation, too, has experienced this directly and keenly.

Thus, for instance, the in 1930's when radio became popular, the fascist Germany actively used it as means for its aggressive objectives. A bulletin on German radio broadcasting in 1939-1940 openly states.

"The struggle for the German Saarland, for the plebiscite on the annexation of the Saar region, for the introduction of universal military duty, and the struggle for the restoration of German rights in Rhineland, for the annexation of Austria, Sudetenland, the Memel area, for the establishment of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia--all this required primarily the use of the radio."

The exploitation of mass communication media for aggressive aims by fascist Germany reached such dimensions that other European states were forced to take action to block the turbid flow of the Nazi propaganda. Those were individual steps as well as attempts to organize collective measures. For example, Austria attempted to protect itself against the interference of Hitler's radio propaganda and thus, it was the first nation in the history of mass information to begin jamming Nazi broadcast.

Experience Before Munich

The aggressive Nazi propaganda represented an ever increasing threat to mankind. This fact was also stressed by the conference of the League of Nations which, in September 1936, adopted the International Convention on the Use of Broadcast for the Interests of Peace. It gained the support of

delegates from 37 countries. The states which signed the convention took upon themselves the obligation to prohibit radio programs whose purpose was to "instigate the population of any territory to actions inconsistent with its internal order or...security."

Further on, the convention speaks of the necessity to exclude from domestic broadcasting those programs which contain appeals for war or actions that could lead to war, and also broadcast of intentionally inaccurate information which could impair international understanding.

The "free flow" of fascist information into Czechoslovakia before Munich and the "free movement" of agents of the Third Reich all over the Czechoslovak territory were some of the causes why our state fell. It is impossible to ever forget the fact that the Western bourgeois media of communication, most of all the British and especially THE TIMES rendered tremendous services to Henlein and Hitler by means of "free flow of information" before Munich and by giving political support not to the government of an allied state but to its opposition--Henlein's followers. That was our experience known as Munich. The degrading Munich dictum resulted in Czechoslovakia's disintegration.

Piratical Methods Resurrected

After the victory over Hitler's Germany it was clear from the very beginning that piratical methods of dissemination of information could not be permitted. It seemed natural that the problem of exchange of information between nations must be solved on the basis of bilateral and multilateral agreements.

The term "free flow of information" reappeared a few years after Winston Churchill's infamous speech in Fulton. At that time the aggressive circles of Western superpowers formulated and extolled the slogan of the "free flow of information" and in order to peddle this proposition, they then used the platform of the United Nations and UNESCO where in the late 1940's and early 1950's they were manipulating the docile majority.

At the same time such subversive disinformation centers as the so-called Radio Free Europe and the so-called Radio Liberty were created to serve the "cold war." The International Press Institute in Zurich began promoting the "free flow" slogan and published a book in 1953, dealing with the problems of the "free flow of information" which under that slogan defended and justified in principle intervention in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

Thus, the "free flow of information" was definitely formulated as an integral part, almost a synonym, of the "cold war" where, unlike in hot war, subversive radio stations, newspapers, journals and other media of mass information and propaganda speak instead of cannons.

On the basis of such a policy a widespread propaganda network was created in the capitalist West and large cadres of experts were organized for the purposes of military and political intelligence and psychological warfare. They specialized in disinformation, inciting and provocation of the population of foreign countries.

Suspicious Concerns of Imperialist Strategists

The defenders of capitalism are intensively exploiting the press, radio, television and film in order to save capitalism. Thus, they are trying to influence man's mind, emotions and feelings, his view of the world, in order to condition also his behavior--within and outside the capitalist countries.

The ideas of the imperialist strategists follow approximately these lines: to exploit detente and to smuggle reactionary views by means of the "free flow of ideas and information" wherever the international reaction had not been able to penetrate so far. For that reason they insist that frontiers be opened to such a "flow" and correspondingly, that even the existing state laws and administration be changed.

The individuals operating under the slogan of "free flow of information" are not hiding the fact that they want to force it primarily upon the socialist states and also upon the developing countries which allegedly are deprived of "foreign information" and are afraid of it. On the other hand, all information in the West allegedly flows "freely" and "without control."

Let us examine the considerations expressed in the report of a special commission for the investigation of the activity of the so-called Radio Free Europe (RFE) and Radio Liberty (RL).

This commission whose title is the Commission for International Radio Broadcast was established by President Nixon in August 1972. Its purpose was to study the espionage and subversive activities of the Munich radio stations. The Commission's report, published in February 1973, justified the activity of both of these defamatory stations.

"It is imperative for Eastern Europe to have access to information so that the citizens of those societies could judge correctly and responsibly (!?) the developments in their own country and on the international scene..."
"The Commission discussed the terms of RFE's and RL's operation. In our opinion, it is in the interest of the United States that these stations continue their operation until the Soviet Union and East European countries retreat from their positions and permit a free flow of authentic (!!) information."

Certain agents of the capitalist countries dimly do not wish to give up the temptation of interfering in the affairs of those states whose internal

and foreign policies are uncomfortable to the capitalist countries.

Subversion--The Real Objective of the "Free Flow"

What some people in the bourgeois West appealingly call "information" others openly call "crushing" of socialism from within and "destabilization" of undesirable governments. The changes which have occurred in their statements since the cold war have a cosmetic value only and apply most of all to the language of the bourgeois propaganda from which the most aggressive appeals "to finish off socialism" have vanished, although the cold-war jargon survived in some places. As for the means and objectives, they remain basically the same as 5, 10, 15 years ago.

For certain troubadours of the bourgeois propaganda, however, the cold war does not seem to have ended at all. One of them, Karl Mundt, an American politician and former senator, replied to an inquiry concerning the objectives of broadcast against USSR and to the questions what did the Voice of America expect from its Russian listeners, as follows:

"We believe that they must...sabotage the production in the area of defense and delay the fulfillment of the program of the Five-Year Plan (!) whose goal is to increase the agricultural and industrial production. We expect that once in a while they will succeed in leaving Russia...and then come to the United States so that we would learn from the well-informed Russians what constructions important for the defense are being built across the Ural Mountains and in Russia's defensive centers."

This cynical statement was recorded in official stenographic records of the U.S. Congress (Congressional Record, 30 March 1951).

No less interesting is the admission made by Robert C. Sorenson, a former director of the Department of Audience Analysis of the so-called Radio Free Europe. In his article "The Sociological Aspects of Psychological Warfare" he discusses the methods of "influencing" the listeners and readers in socialist countries:

"The following methods of influencing hostile audiences may be used:

1. Broadcast of prohibited information and works.
2. Intentional stimulation of the hearing organs.
3. Promise of a higher standard of living under certain conditions.
4. Manipulation of feelings of insecurity about the future.
5. Provocation and support of feelings of opposition against the government.
6. Persuading the audience that such products as foodstuffs, clothing, etc. are in short supply.

It is true that Sorenson wrote about such--begging your pardon--"methods of information" back in 1958. Has anything changed since then?

Vestiges of Hostility Have Been Successfully Preserved

The Polish journal POLITYKA emphasizes that similar "recipes" are still being used in the broadcast of the Western stations. The Polish journal's opinion confirms the statement made by prominent Western politicians and public officials in the press. Thus, for instance, William Fulbright, the former chairman of the U.S. Senate Committee for Foreign Relations, declared on 24 May 1971:

"I am convinced that these stations (i.e. the so-called Radio Liberty and the so-called Radio Free Europe--Editor's note) have indeed fully succeeded in their efforts to preserve vestiges of hostility since the end of World War II."

This evaluation is shared and complemented by Paul Bartlett, the former president of Radio New York World Incorporated. He said that the relations of the United States "with the Soviets and other socialist countries cannot remain untouched by that war of words which Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are waging day and night against those countries..."

Bartlett further described how the powerful transmitter in Munich jammed the Moscow radio broadcast. "Technically it works so that the Munich transmitter broadcasts programs in the Russian language, let us say, for 5-6 to 7-10 minutes. Then the program abruptly ends and several incoherent English words are heard on the air. Supposedly the listener is supposed to think that one station overlaps another, so he begins to suspect that his radio is out of tune or that something has happened to it...I think that nobody would be allowed to do such things in the United States, but things are done abroad that would never be permitted in this country."

In his written memorandum submitted to the U.S. Senate Committee for Foreign Relations in May 1972, P. Bartlett insisted that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty be terminated and their technological bases used for some other purposes.

"To Shake Up This System..."

It must be noted that the bourgeois press does not even try to conceal the substances of the real objectives of the "free flow." The Swiss daily NEUE ZURCHER ZEITUNG stated on 30 August 1970 in the article "Radio Liberty and Its Activity:"

"Radio Liberty faces the task of conducting ideological subversion against the USSR..."

However, it is not supposed--the Swiss newspaper continues--to call for an "immediate" overthrow of the government of workers and farmers, but only to "encourage the listeners, particularly the youth, to 'think' independently (?)."

And again from the French newspaper FIGARO we learn what it means to "encourage the listeners to think independently:"

"According to the statement by one of Free Europe's leaders the purpose of the broadcast is to stir up and strengthen doubts about the credibility of the Communist parties' policy and to promote the development of sectarian tendencies among the listeners..."

When the imperialist ideologists now propagate the "free flow of information" and an exchange of ideas and people, they speak quite frankly about the objectives of the effect of propaganda on certain groups of the population in socialist countries. "To attract the post-war generation of the USSR to the ideals of the West--that is our task," and such a goal has been staked out by the NATO theoreticians.

Wheeler, one of the leaders of the so-called Central Asia Intelligence Center in London, said frankly: "Because all the Western bloc countries are regarding the Soviet Union as a potential enemy, they are interested in the opportunities for the growth of nationalism inside the USSR."

It is the connection with the Helsinki Conference that the Western press maintained that "detente may help weaken the socialist system" (THE TIMES), that cooperation with the socialist countries is not possible "without some changes of the Soviet regime" (STAMPA), that the Western countries are trying to "bring the wind of freedom into the Soviet system and thus, to shake up that system" (TOKYO SHINBUN).

The slogan of the "free flow of information" therefore is really not concerned with a bilateral exchange of authentic information; in the visions and plans of the NATO strategists the "free flow" is an operation aimed at undermining the actual foundations of their opponent--the socialist world. The "free flow" is simply one of the forms of violation of the principles of state sovereignty, one of the forms of interference in the internal affairs of other states.

[10 Feb 77, p 6]

The ideological subversion against the socialist and developing countries has been organized by the powerful propaganda centers of imperialist states and generously financed by the monopolies. Its activity is conducted by governmental institutions, radio stations, television companies, publishers

of newspapers, magazines and books, religious organizations, etc.

The ruling circles of the most powerful capitalist countries are aware of the new situation in international relations; they are trying in various ways, using various methods, to stop the development which is uncomfortable to them. They see one of those ways in refurbishing their apparatus of information and subversion which they intend to "adapt" to the recent changes in the world.

For instance, Report No 27 of the so-called U.S. Advisory Commission on Information of July 1974, addressed to the U.S. Congress, stresses that in the current conditions of detente the role of mass information media is increasing considerably and that the funds for the information and propaganda services also must be increased. It recommends most of all that new, powerful radio transmitters be built for the Voice of America radio station and that the tasks of the employees of U.S. embassies in socialist countries, who deal with problems of propaganda, be expanded. The report emphasizes the necessary cooperation with those persons abroad who are "actively involved in forming public opinion in their countries."

Report No 27 also states that the activity of the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) must be further intensified mainly for the following reasons:

"A) The experimentation with detente does not signify any weakening of the ideological conflict..."

B) Countries such as Great Britain, France, Japan and Germany have recognized and are aware of the constantly growing importance of foreign political information and cultural activity. They have considerably expanded their activity in that area and in individual sectors they have surpassed current endeavors of the USA." (p 1)

"It is now clear beyond any doubt that the current (American) effort is totally insufficient to demonstrate any real effect on the relations and opinions of people in other parts of the world or to be capable of competition with the Communist propaganda," the report continues. "We are not lacking the skills, knowledge and the means to be the first. That must be our objective." (pp 14-15)

The report devotes special attention to the consolidation of the technological basis for broadcasting political propaganda abroad, although the United States already has at its disposal enormous foreign broadcast network. The official U.S. radio station, Voice of America, uses 114 transmitters for foreign broadcasts at this time, not counting relay stations. Of them 45 are located on U.S. territory and the rest literally in every corner of the world.

Powerful Transmitters "To Play It Safe" At Home...

In addition to the transmitters used by the Voice of America, the USA operates 40 more short-wave and medium-wave transmitters on the territories of the GFR, West Berlin, Spain, Portugal and Taiwan, through which RIAS (the radio station in the U.S. sector of West Berlin), the so-called Radio Liberty and the so-called Radio Free Europe are broadcasting their programs.

It is evident that this is not enough. One of the key recommendations of the aforementioned commission emphasizes the requirement that the Congress approve the construction of a complex of especially powerful Voice of America transmitters directly on U.S. territory for the needs of the USIA. "Its individual transmitters are located at present on territories of foreign countries where it is becoming gradually more difficult to safeguard their further operation." (p 15)

Further on it is stated: "Political changes in the world together with a rapid growth of international radio broadcast have posed a serious problem to the Voice of America. The tense internal political situation and the increasing nationalism (understand: the growth of national liberation movements -- Editor's note) in many countries have complicated more and more the maintenance of our relay stations abroad. Moreover, it is becoming considerably more difficult to negotiate the establishment of new stations."

And further on:

"In order to achieve superiority in the air, it is necessary to develop transmitters with a capacity ten times stronger than the 250 kW transmitters which are now in standard operation. For that reason the problem concerning the production of 2500 kW transmitters must be solved promptly."

"This project may be accomplished by opening a station on the West Coast, which would considerably strengthen Voice of America broadcasts from the American continent to the countries of Asia. Its broadcast would be heard also in Kamchatka and all over the Northern and Southern basin of the Okhotsk Sea up the Malayan Peninsula. In the beginning the signals would penetrate deep into that continent, approximately 1000-2000 km from the coast of Asia, and reach many densely populated centers of the Soviet Union, the People's Republic of China, all of Japan, all of Vietnam, Thailand, Malaya, and the eastern part of Burma." (Pp 43-44), etc. etc.

Joint Financing and Planning of Programs

Thus, regardless of detente, the United States of America has taken up a distinctive arms race in the "war of words" and prepared to inundate the whole world with the "free flow of information." It is counting on a coordination of forces with other capitalist states.

"In recent years," the above report states further, "several countries which are interested in the consolidation of their positions abroad, as for

instance Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan--have consistently intensified their foreign information and cultural programs. This natural phenomenon must be welcomed...At the same time such process opens prospects for joint financing and planning of various information programs and cultural projects." (p 9)

In this respect the other big capitalist countries are sparing neither efforts nor funds. For instance, four powerful short-wave transmitters, each of 500 kW capacity, were put into operation in Wertachtal, GFR, in 1972. It is expected that the GFR will gradually obtain a total of 24 such automatically operated transmitters. After its completion the center in Wertachtal, expanded by relay stations beaming programs of the Deutsche Welle on the medium-wave length will be one of the most powerful in the world. It will be Europe's largest complex for broadcasting foreign programs. The total capacity of the transmitters which will broadcast West Germany's foreign programs allegedly is about 17,000 kW. Thus, in this area the GFR will be second only to USA.

This effort to widen and improve the apparatus of subversive activities and disinformation is accompanied by demagogic assertions that the nations of the socialist countries allegedly "do not have a free access to information."

However, to what extent are the promoters of that concept really true to the "free flow of information?"

Who Is Better Informed?

Despite the slander which the alleged defenders of the "free flow of information" are spreading so diligently, the socialist countries are not afraid of the exchange of people, ideas, cultural values or information, nor have they any cause to be afraid. However, they are stressing very clearly and uncompromisingly that this kind of cooperation must be conducted with proper respect of sovereignty, laws and customs of every country, that it must serve mutual spiritual enrichment of the nations, increase their mutual trust and strengthen the ideas of peace and good neighborly relations. This is harshly contradicted by the "psychological warfare" which some cold war proponents would like to foment.

As for the assertion alleging that the nations of the socialist countries are deprived of a broad access to information that interests them, let us examine the data that are typical for the degree to which citizens of the socialist and of the capitalist countries are informed about each other's life.

For instance, last year the television stations of the socialist countries have broadcast about 3000 hours of U.S. and West European television programs. Television screens in the West, however, featured only 1000 hours

of programs purchased from the television networks of the socialist countries. The quota of original Western programs shown on the television of the socialist countries is 10 percent, while the amount of programs from the socialist countries shown on television in the West is no more than 2 percent.

These are the official data of the UNESCO.

Similar comparisons may be also made in other areas of the information exchange. For example, in 1974-1975 CSSR published 167 book titles by U.S. authors with a total of 5,516,910 copies printed. During the same period 7 books by Czechoslovak authors have been published in USA with 1000 to 5000 copies printed.

Or yet another example. In 15 years the theaters of the Polish People's Republic presented 407 works by U.S. authors against only 4 plays by Polish playwrights introduced in USA. Poland published 828 works by U.S. authors, the United States--90 works by Polish writers.

In Poland, 354 French films were shown, in France 54 Polish films. In Poland, 1,073 dramatic works by French playwrights were presented, in France only 13 plays written by Polish authors.

The United States conducts similar policy of typical "cultural blockade" against the Soviet literature and art. From 1946 to 1972 more than 6,000 literary works by U.S. authors were translated and published in the USSR. During that same period about 500 titles of the pre-revolution and Soviet authors were published in the United States. In the 1972-1973 theater season, 40 plays by American playwrights were presented by Soviet theaters, while 4 dramas by the pre-revolutionary Russian authors were presented in the United States and none by any of the Soviet authors. In the past 2 or 3 years, U.S. film lending agencies did not screen one single Soviet film, although Columbia Pictures purchased the Soviet spectacular "Liberation."

The Testimony of a British Magazine

The public in capitalist countries obtains from its press very scanty information about the life in socialist countries. If some item does appear, it is all garbled and biased.

To be specific, at the present time only the state or large monopolistic associations in the West are able to secure a normal existence for large competitive newspapers as well as the operation of radio and television networks. That results in standardized information which is in the hands of the bourgeois monopolies, for the purpose of closely coordinated anti-communist campaign. The multimillion army of "consumers" receives the same politically and ideologically slanted information about this or that event with precisely determined class bias. This also pertains to the selection

of information concerning the life in the socialist countries. The British magazine LISTENER said some time ago:

"The British newspapers present very poor reporting about the life in the Soviet Union. In principle the material concerning the Soviet reality is negatively slanted. And, what is most important is that, on the basis of such articles the readers have formed distorted views of the recent developments in the USSR; they are under the impression that nothing has changed there in the past decade."

"The correspondents accredited in the USSR," the British magazine continues, "are sending very few articles about the development of the Soviet Union's republics. As for the journalists in London, it seems that they are looking at Russia through a telescope. The social aspects of the life in the USSR in particular are inadequately covered. However, the readers are very interested to learn how the health services are organized in that country, whether symptoms of inflation are appearing there, whether there is any unemployment in the USSR. Hundreds of such questions which are so timely for England are being totally ignored in articles about the USSR, and if some author happens to mention them, it is only in order to stress some shortcomings. One exceedingly clear example for many: In 1972, the USSR has had a very poor harvest due to a drought. All the newspapers wrote about it in unison. Nevertheless, next year's harvest was a record one, but the "great London press" has found this fact hardly worth mentioning.

This testimony of the British magazine again makes it clear that: the mass information media which are in the hands of monopolies, do not hide their antagonism toward socialism. And, in reality, the "information" provided by many bourgeois papers obscures deliberate misinformation.

Activity Hostile to Detente

The principles of peaceful coexistence do not apply to the area of ideology. In the sphere of ideology the struggle has been waged, is now being waged, and will be waged in the future as long as states with different social systems exist.

However, if the ideological struggle is in principle an objective phenomenon, then the selection of its means, ways, methods and aims is an entirely subjective matter, the result of conscious decisions by governments, ruling classes and political parties. They, too, carry the full burden of responsibility for their nations and for mankind for the consequences of such choice.

The signatories of the principles of peaceful coexistence formulated in Helsinki have agreed that the armed confrontation of states with different social systems be replaced by peaceful competition.

However, interference in internal affairs, violation of sovereignty of independent states, psychological warfare, and subversive methods are incompatible with the principle of peaceful coexistence. To be specific, the spirit of coexistence and competition, the spirit of the documents of the Helsinki Conference, is at variance with the dissemination of lies, with spreading of malicious slander, with false information about the life in the socialist countries, and with the effort to sow dissension among nations.

The troubadours of the "free flow of information," however, are concentrating their efforts precisely on that. In their conceptions and in their intentions the "free flow" in the psychological warfare is basically an activity of sabotage typical for its interference in internal affairs of other states.

And interference in internal affairs of other states is incompatible with peaceful coexistence and with detente.

In the plans of the modern cold war proponents, the slogan of the "free flow of information" is nothing but a fraud, perhaps a carefully camouflaged fraud, but still a transparent fraud.

9004
CSO: 2400

POLAND

'TRYBUNA LUDU' ARTICLE ON WEST'S CONCEPT OF PLURALISM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 77 p 7 AU

[Article by Marek Jaworski: "Mechanisms of Anticommunism--Myths of Pluralism"]

[Text] In the ideological struggle against socialism, the bourgeois ideologs and philosophers use an entire arsenal of various sociopolitical theories, seeking to popularize them to the widest possible extent among the socialist countries' societies. One such theory, which has been receiving increasing importance in the past few years, is the concept of "pluralism." This concept is being promoted throughout an unusually extensive range of social ideas involving areas such as ideology, politics, philosophy, sociology, culture, arts, histroy, law and so on.

The basic premise of "pluralism" is a simple statement that people evaluate reality in different ways. As an empirical statement this gives rise to no reservations. Indeed, in both the bourgeois and the socialist countries there are people who often differ in their views of the world, in the criteria of their evaluations, in aspirations and so on. This naturally leads to certain consequences on the broad plane of social phenomena--from principles of normal people-to-people relations and prevailing customs through specific legal norms.

Insofar as issues which concern all people and which are important on the nationwide scale, the pluralistic differences in attitudes and views can be surmounted under the conditions of socialist democracy through extensive discussions and consultations with the help of rational arguments that are accepted by a tremendous majority of the interested persons. As a result, the ultimate solutions and decisions become an expression of general approval and rest on the social foundations of the support given to these solutions and decisions by the basic forces of the people.

The Marxists also appreciate the implication resulting from the differing views of the world which exist in socialist societies and take the view that such differences do not have to create serious obstacles in achieving socialist social aims.

"Like other European countries, we are a lay country," Comrade Edward Gierek said in an interview with the weekly DER SPIEGEL before his FRG visit, "But

in our system believing people have their rightful place. In a sense we are therefore a pluralistic society. Naturally, the interpretations of this concept vary, depending on the social system. We interpret pluralism differently from you. We have parties which are active in specific communities, which influence people and which, together with our party, govern and bear joint responsibility."

As you see, pluralism of values is a fact which no one denies or slight, but it is possible to deduce from this fact entirely different conclusions, and this is where the roads of Marxist and bourgeois thinking part.

The bourgeois advocates of pluralism recognize the differences in the views of the world as a permanent and natural phenomenon, which, in their view, determines the freedom of each man and of each creative effort and insures the spiritual development of society and democracy. There is no scientific formula, they say, for promoting the cognizance of truth: all the achievements of human knowledge are merely a "stack of competing hypotheses" (as Karl Popper writes) from which everyone can pick the one he likes best. Nor is there, in connection with this, any self-dependent comprehensive "bourgeois ideology." This is because there are so many of these ideologies that it is merely a common misunderstanding to speak in general terms of the ideological struggle between the socialist and bourgeois formations.

Polemikzing with this view, Soviet historian V. Garanov states (SOVETSKIY SOYUZ, 1975, issue 5):

"In the West there is a multitude of ideological currents which are incompatible with and even hostile to one another. There are fascistic, liberal, conservative, moderate, irrational, pragmatic and other currents. In each case it is necessary to concretely analyze the reasons for the existence and spread of these currents. These reasons stem from the conditions of capitalist development, from the balance of class forces and from the international situation. However, all these currents and trends constitute modifications and alternatives of the same single bourgeois ideology and represent the viewpoints of various factions, groups and tendencies within the bourgeois class."

The varied and contradictory ideology of bourgeois societies (whose philosophical considerations stretch from extreme idealism to materialism) has, in fact, a single base, and "ideological pluralism," as Garanov points out, reveals on closer analysis its relativity, conventionalism and fundamental limitation, which is represented by the sole prospect of those various ideological alternatives: the prospect of bourgeois reality and capitalist social relations. The advocates of the pluralism of ideological and philosophical values are trying to apply it also to the reality of the socialist countries as a principle and postulate of sociopolitical life as a norm of this life's artistic and cultural features. They usually combine their manipulation of various slogans of pluralism with declarations that are meant to convince one that they want to help the socialist countries to achieve a higher level of democracy and freedom. This is being done pri-

marily by the propagandists hailing from neoliberal and rightist-revisionist circles. The fact is that they view pluralism as a license for opposing socialism and for slandering socialist states.

One of the top theses professed by these "pluralists" is the concept of "various models of socialism" recommended to the peoples in socialist states as the more correct road to their development. In this connection, the various "national models," crossed with notions of "democratic socialism," "humanist socialism," "socialism with a human face" and so on, are proposed not in keeping with the Leninist thesis of various roads to socialism but as completely separate aspects of socialism. At the same time, in more extreme cases appeals are made for reducing the state's influence on citizens' lives (accusing the state of totalitarianism) and for allowing a freer interplay of economic (market socialism), political and ideological forces.

"It is easy to assert," Jozef Borgosz states ("In the Compass of Ideological Discussions" KIW 1975, page 346) "that our domestic 'liberals' accept these views. These liberals advocate reducing the socialist state's role to economic functions and eliminating it from cultural policy, ideological confrontations and philosophical education. This is in addition to the unceasing urge toward the system of a free play of political forces..."

The Marxists--both those who are already implementing the principles of socialist construction in their own states and those who are fighting for the victory of these principles in the capitalist countries--do not deny that the roads to socialist development in individual countries may differ, depending on these states' national and political traditions, the specifics of the socialist situation, the true balance of class forces and so on. Also the tactic of the struggle for power by progressive social forces and communist parties in Western countries may be different from the historical experience of other fraternal parties because this tactic must take into account the changing conditions of struggle.

After all, the political aim of the Marxists and Communists in France, Italy, Portugal and other countries is not a ruthless annihilation or discrimination in public life of those who profess different, pluralistic concepts, values and views: their aim is to convince these people by force of argument and to actively attract the widest masses of society. Neither we nor the Marxists in the Western countries will ever let this right, the right to wage an active struggle for people's hearts and minds, be taken away from us. As ever, we also reserve the right to wage an open ideological struggle and to unmask various theories and concepts based on antisocialist intent and playing, in fact, the role of specific political weapons.

The pluralistic concepts of bourgeois ideologs belong to just such theories and schemes because they are full of too obvious antisocialist intent. The simple point is to weaken the socialist system, to annihilate [zatomizowac] the community of the socialist states and to smuggle into them alien values and schemes in keeping with the needs of bourgeois society. Another point is to counter the Marxist method which professes scientific cognizance of reality and, on the basis of this, the possibility for transforming socio-economic relations.

The peculiar concept of pluralism is being exploited by Western propaganda in the ideological struggle on the external and domestic front. The idealization of one's own "pluralistic" society goes hand in hand with various good counsels and warnings addressed to socialist societies, and much attention is being devoted to cultural values admist these pious wishes. What our adversaries who are propagating the slogan of "pluralism" want to achieve in this regard is not so much a pluralism of artistic values as a pluralism of the philosophic ideological foundations of artistic creativity--that is, the right to present with the help of artistic resources the social and political ideas that are alien to socialism.

Socialist culture, which is varied and is open to all progressive ideas, is not in need of those "good counsels" and solutions. In its ideological shape it will always express the endeavors of society, which strengthens its socialist system, aspirations and interests.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

'SLOWO POWSZECHNE' SCORES ECONOMIC PAROCHIALISM

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 25 Feb 77 p 1 AU

[J.S. Commentary: "To See Farther and To See More"]

[Text] Last year, which was on the whole a favorable year for our economy, we were not able to fully implement all our tasks. Agriculture was left behind, market supplies left many wishes unfulfilled, foreign trade and transportation lagged and punctual completion of investment projects was hobbled.

There were many reasons for this, and one of them, which is very important, though not always seen by some people, was pinpointed by Edward Gierek during his recent meeting with journalists: namely, parochialism or provincialism or narrowmindedness--that is, ambition to disassociate oneself from the whole, to become independent of the center of the country and to think merely in terms of one's own advantages, short-term advantages at that. The people infected by parochialism are like those terrible burghers in Tuwim's famous poem who viewed everything as separate entities and whose vision does not reach farther than the tips of their noses.

You can meet such people in the local government bodies where, freely indulging in their excessive ambitions, they do everything in their power to promote construction of the projects that, although they are not at that moment most urgently needed, are expected, in the view of these people, to add to the authority and splendor of themselves and of the villages or towns entrusted to their care. Such practices lead to dissipation of resources and delays in the completion of the investments that should be treated as priority projects because of social or economic importance.

No one asserts that the projects asked for by the people moved by parochial reasons are useless. What we want to assert is that such projects can wait because other projects are more important. However, the people infected by parochialism are unable to understand this because they do not see very far.

Such people are also present among the managing cadres of some industrial plants. All they can see is their own plants and welfare. Although their plants produce goods no one wants, of poor quality and difficult to sell,

they do everything they can to increase such production to the maximum because it is beneficial for their plants and work forces: it helps raise their wages and enhance their glory. This is why they go on wasting materials, labor and time.

Other people of this kind keep on hoarding excessive stocks and uselessly store up materials which are in short supply elsewhere. They also practice most refined tricks, which, unfortunately, are often successful, to insure above-plan imports of machinery and installations they do not at all need, in this way trying to compensate for the production arrears caused by their own bad work organization or by their glaring inability to properly utilize their actual resources.

All these attitudes are marked by a common feature: the people concerned forget nationwide social interests and see only a short-term advantage for a single locality or a single plant.

Of course, we should not exaggerate this phenomenon. Still, the fact that the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee deemed it necessary to stress it so strongly is best proof that this phenomenon exists, causes us great losses and calls for energetic counteraction.

In this connection we should bear in mind, however, that it would be an error to identify parochialism with healthy local patriotism, which is undoubtedly a mainspring of progress and releases civic initiative and ambition. Such patriotism successfully transforms the image of many places and makes it easier to meet various needs of the people living in these places because it stimulates additional social efforts. Besides, it does not hamper the implementation of the most important tasks and is not responsible for directing to secondary sectors the forces and resources needed elsewhere.

As you can see, the struggle against all forms of parochialism is our continuous duty because Poland is not a federation of 49 voivodships and our economy is not a loose union of so many thousands of industrial plants. Poland is a system of communicating vessels which depend on one another. There is no place in this system for private interests, improvisation and parochialism.

CSO: 2600

POLAND

CATHOLIC DAILY APPEALS FOR ALCOHOLIC ABSTINENCE

Warsaw SLOWO POWSZECHNE in Polish 26-27 Feb 77 p 1 AU

[ABS Commentary: "Week of Sobriety"]

[Text] We have entered a period in which the attention of believers is attracted by moral problems, especially by all the shortcomings of moral and social life. The period of the great fast is meant to help one to improve oneself morally and to renounce one's vices, which are often deeply rooted. During the great fast we try to draw up a list of our own moral errors and shortcomings and we pledge to struggle against them, to improve our lives and, consequently, to improve the lives of all those with whom we have the strongest links: our relatives, the people we work with and the people in our communities. Would that such pledges be made permanent!

Many of us will begin this list of moral errors and shortcomings with a vice that is socially one of the most painful, troublesome and harmful vices: alcoholism, or the violation of the duty to be sober. It is no accident that during the great fast our church devotes more attention to this problem in its spiritual work (our church launched a week of sobriety on Ash Wednesday). It is no accident that the editorial boards inspired by the moral truth of Christianity devote more attention than usual to the same problem.

The social dimension of this vice in our country is great and the social dimension of its results is enormous, unfortunately. This is why we should exploit to the maximum every opportunity for combating this vice and we should try to insure that this struggle is not merely occasional, but that it becomes increasingly continuous and consistent.

The primary purpose of every struggle against moral evil is man's soul and the extent to which man possesses moral--spiritual consciousness and fiber. This is why the Church's spiritual work, which each year greatly increases in its intensity during the great fast to prepare Christians for the feast of Easter, is such an important element of our social efforts to keep people sober and to implement the sobriety program. This spiritual work concerns believers, but its results are nationwide socially because they benefit all of our society.

We all are interested in bringing up our young people in sobriety, in seeing to it that nothing prevents sobriety from governing the life of our families and in insuring that sobriety increasingly dominates professional and vocational work and the norms of our society's manners and customs, which so often leave much to be desired, unfortunately. Our concern for health and for properly developing people-to-people relations often makes us say: If we would understand that it is necessary to be sober and if we could obey this need, things would be so much better....

There are many social institutions which have a great deal to accomplish in struggling for universal sobriety. It goes without saying that some of these institutions have great merits in this regard, but do all of them fully exploit their possibilities? Do all of them realize the need for their education activities? Could they not act more effectively and consistently?

One of the first of these institutions is naturally the school, since the ideal of sobriety is not, unfortunately, the most widespread one among youngsters. There are children who suffer from the physical and mental effects of their parents' alcoholism and there are children who are more or less consistent drunkards without encountering sufficiently strong inhibitions against their vice.

There is an enormous social need for such inhibitions and inhibiting barriers. We have gone too far in tolerating those who are "just tipsy." In laughing at those who refuse a drink and in approving the "manliness" of those who live cheek by jowl with a "liter" or "half-a-liter" bottle day in and day out. All this seems to represent elements of our way of life. These are bad elements which infect our way of life and, consequently, destroy many lives, disrupt families and damage the reputation of many professional and social communities. There are no efforts--individual or communal--that could be regarded as superfluous in the great struggle for sobriety.

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

DECREE ON MINISTRY OF FORESTRY ECONOMY, CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 114, 22 Dec 76 pp 3-6

Decree of the State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic for Amending and Supplementing Decree No 18/1972 on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials, Which Became Law No 29/1972, With the Later Amendments

Text The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Article I. Decree No 18/1972 on the founding, organization and operation of the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials, which became Law No 29/1972, with the later amendments, is amended and supplemented, having the following content:

Decree
on the Founding, Organization and Operation of the Ministry of Forestry
Economy and Construction Materials

The State Council of the Romanian Socialist Republic decrees:

Chapter I
General Provisions

Article 1. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials is founded through the merger of the Ministry of the Wood Industry, the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, and the Department of Silviculture within the Ministry of Agriculture and the Food Industry.

Article 2. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials carries out the policy of the party and state in the branches of silviculture, of the wood-exploitation and -processing industry, of the cellulose, paper, and artificial thread and fiber industry, and of the construction materials industry.

Article 3. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials leads, guides and controls the activity of the centrals and of the other

units subordinate to it and is responsible, in a capacity of titular of the plan, for its fulfillment for its entire activity.

Article 4. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials provides, in its activity, for the application of the laws, decrees and decisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 5. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials collaborates with the other ministries, other central bodies, and the local bodies in order to perform the duties that devolve upon it.

Chapter II Duties

Article 6. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials has the following main duties:

A. Within the framework of the sole national plan for economic and social development, it provides for the development of the branches and subbranches in its sphere of activity at a sustained rate and with maximum economic efficiency, for which purpose:

- a) It prepares studies and programs concerning the proportions, the levels and the means of development in the future of the branches and subbranches in its sphere of activity;
- b) It prepares the drafts of the annual and long-term plans, on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the subordinate units;
- c) After the adoption of the laws for approving the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget, it establishes the economic and financial plan indicators for subordinate units;
- d) It pursues and is responsible for the fulfillment of the indicators that devolve upon it from the sole national plan for economic and social development and the state budget, periodically informing the Council of Ministers;
- e) It provides for the diversification of production and the continual raising of the qualitative characteristics of products, in order to increase economic efficiency, to shorten the duration of execution and to industrialize construction work;
- f) It organizes, guides and controls the activity concerning silviculture, the exploitation and processing of wood, the cellulose, paper, and artificial thread and fiber industry, and the construction materials industry;
- g) It provides for the conservation, development, proper management, and protection of forest resources and the placement and utilization of timber. It organizes the activity concerning the management of game and of fishing in

mountain waters, the protection of hunting and piscicultural resources, and the utilization of game and of byproducts of the forest;

h) It determines, in accordance with the legal standards, the need for circulating funds for the subordinate units and supplies such funds to them, with the agreement of the Ministry of Finance;

i) It analyzes the balance sheets and periodic reports of the subordinate units and draws up those that involve the activity of the entire ministry;

j) It prepares and executes, in accordance with the law, the income and expenditure plan for the central administration and the subordinate budgetary units.

B. It coordinates and guides the research and design activity in the subordinate units and takes steps to equip them with the necessary technical-material resources. It keeps track of the results of scientific research and the utilization of them. It concerns itself with the introduction of technical, scientific and economic progress into the subordinate units. It provides for the typification of products and approves the model designs. It organizes the activity of technical documentation specific to its branches and provides for the informing of the subordinate units with regard to the trends in scientific and technical progress on a national and world level. It publishes, in accordance with the law, publications and works concerning the problems of production, science and technology specific to its branches.

C. It organizes and coordinates the activity of economic, technical and scientific collaboration and cooperation with other ministries and central bodies in the country and abroad and controls the fulfillment of the obligations that result from this activity. It carries out the prospecting and studying of the needs of the domestic and foreign market for the products in its branches of activity.

D. It prepares the draft of the export plan and makes proposals concerning the proportions, structure and orientation of commercial exchanges in the future. It provides for the fulfillment of the tasks concerning the export activity that devolves upon it, in accordance with the law. It prepares the draft of the import plan for raw materials, supplies, complex installations, and equipment and pursues its fulfillment.

E. It organizes and coordinates, in a capacity of domestic general supplier, the delivery of complex installations for exportation. It coordinates in its branches of activity the supplying and selling for domestic use and for exportation of the spare parts necessary for repairing and maintaining the machinery, equipment and installations from domestic production and from importation.

F. It approves, within the limit of its competence, the technical and economic documentation for investment work and the documentation for the assimilation of new products.

G. It guides and coordinates the activity of organization of production and labor in the subordinate units. It organizes the activity of preparing, applying and following up the work rates and quotas for all categories of personnel in its sphere of activity. It organizes the preparation of uniform work rates and quotas for the economy, for the work for which it is established that it is an initiator or a collaborator. It approves the specific methodologies of rate setting and the uniform rates and quotas for the branch and other activities and controls their method of application.

H. It guides the activity of inventions and innovations and concerns itself with generalizing the most important achievements. It makes proposals regarding the problems of standardization. It approves internal standards. It coordinates and controls the activity of metrology in the subordinate units.

I. It organizes the preparation of the work concerning the need for raw materials, supplies and equipment whose balance is approved by the Council of Ministers or by ministries or other central bodies. It is responsible for the preparation, in a suitable manner, of the material balances by the subordinate units and collaborates with the other central bodies to balance them in accordance with the targets in the sole national plan for economic and social development and with the needs and possibilities of the national economy. It provides for the supplying of materials and equipment for which, in accordance with the regulatory acts, it is a coordinator, necessary to all the ministries, the other central bodies and the local bodies.

J. It exercises the powers that devolve upon it, in accordance with the law, with regard to prices and rates in its branches of activity.

K. It provides for the application of the policy of the party and state on personnel problems, for which purpose:

- a) It establishes, in accordance with the law, uniform criteria for selecting, training, improving and promoting the personnel in its branches of activity and controls their application;
- b) It establishes the need for personnel in the future and takes steps to train them, in accordance with the law;
- c) It appoints the personnel for its own apparatus. It names, in accordance with the law, the leadership bodies of the centrals and of the other units subordinate to it;
- d) It organizes, in accordance with the law, and provides for the improvement of the training of the personnel;
- e) It provides the material base necessary to the educational units subordinate to it, as well as the specialized teaching personnel.

L. It establishes, for the subordinate units, in accordance with the law, labor-safety standards and takes steps to provide the best working conditions and to prevent work accidents and occupational illnesses.

M. It participates in the preparation of the proposals concerning the improvement of the elements of the salary system, organizing the preparation of studies for this purpose. It provides for the uniform application of the elements of the salary system in the coordinate branches and subbranches and controls the method of application. It establishes general measures for continually improving the working and living conditions of the personnel.

N. On the basis of and with a view to the execution of the law, it prepares standards concerning the technical, planning, financial and salary activity and for other activities in its branches. The technical standards established for the manufacture of the products on its list are also mandatory for the units subordinate to other central or local bodies that manufacture similar products.

O. It prepares and presents to the Council of Ministers drafts of regulatory acts and other acts specified by law, concerning its activity. It gives advice on the drafts of regulatory and other acts, prepared by the other ministries and central bodies and by the executive committees of the county people's councils and of that of the municipality of Bucharest, which involve its branches of activity.

P. It exercises the legal powers regarding the activity of the General Association of Sport Hunters and Fishermen of the Romanian Socialist Republic and supports its activity.

R. It performs any other duties specified by law.

Chapter III Organization and Operation

Article 7. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials is led by the leadership council, which decides on the general problems concerning the activity of the ministry.

The collective leadership of the operational activity of the ministry, and the provision of the implementation of the decisions of the leadership council, are achieved through its executive bureau.

The leadership council of the ministry and its executive bureau are organized and operate in accordance with Decree No 76/1973 on the leadership of the ministries and the other central bodies of the state administration on the basis of the principle of collective leadership.

Article 8. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials has in its leadership one minister and six deputy ministers, one of whom is the

head of the Department of Silviculture. The head of the department is also state inspector general of silviculture.

The deputy ministers are named by means of a decision of the Council of Ministers. The duties of the deputy ministers are established by the leadership council of the ministry.

Article 9. The minister represents the ministry in relations with the other domestic bodies and organizations and in international relations.

Article 10. Within the Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials there is organized and operates, in accordance with Decree No 78/1973, the technical and economic council, a working body within the collective leadership bodies of the ministry.

Article 11. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials has the following organizational structure:

- a) The Department of Silviculture;
- b) The General Directorate for the Plan and Development;
- c) The General Directorate for Supply, Sales and Foreign Trade;
- d) The Directorate for Finances and Prices;
- e) The Technical Directorate;
- f) The Directorate for Investments, Construction and Mechanical Power;
- g) The Directorate for International Economic Cooperation;
- h) The Directorate for Personnel and Education;
- i) The Directorate for Organization and Control;
- j) The Directorate for the Secretariat and Administration.

The General Directorate for Supply, Sales and Foreign Trade is a legal person and operates on the principle of economic management.

The organizational structure according to work sections and the maximum number of posts in the apparatus of the ministry are those specified in Appendix 1* and Appendix 2,* which are an integral part of the present decree.

Article 12. The duties and the operating standards of the directorates and general directorates specified in Article 11 are established by the leadership council of the ministry, under the conditions specified by law.

* Appendices 1 and 2 are communicated to the institutions involved.

Article 13. The Ministry of Forestry Economy and Construction Materials has in subordination to it centrals, enterprises, other economic organizations and budgetary units.

Chapter IV
The Department of Silviculture

Article 14. The Department of Silviculture performs the duties that devolve upon the ministry in the branch of silviculture.

The Department of Silviculture is a plan titular, with indicators listed distinctly by means of the sole national plan for economic and social development, is a budgetary unit and has a legal personality.

Article 15. The Department of Silviculture has the following main duties:

- a) It provides for the uniform management of forest resources regardless of holders, as well as of the forest vegetation beyond them;
- b) It organizes the scientific management of forest resources on the basis of forest plans;
- c) It provides for the conservation and development of forest resources, the application of a normal system of cutting and of regeneration of the forests, and the strengthening of their protective functions;
- d) It takes steps to continually raise the production and productivity of the forests by planting on deforested land, by restoring the stands with low productivity and by improving the composition of the stands by expanding the fast-growing species and those with a high economic value;
- e) It provides for the placement and utilization of the volume of timber that is to be felled annually, in accordance with the approved forest plans, the plan targets and the regulations specified in the regulatory provisions in force;
- f) It provides for the amelioration of degraded land and the correction of torrents in the forest resources and supports the execution of this work on the land of other holders;
- g) It provides for the protection and conservation of forest resources and controls the management of forests and the respecting of forest legislation and of other regulatory acts. It controls the legality of the operation of the installations for processing wood into lumber and organizes the activity of control of the circulation of lumber. It takes steps to prevent the losses caused by means of infractions and contraventions. It controls the fulfillment of the steps taken to prevent and control pests on forest vegetation, as well as those concerning the forest-fire watch;

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- h) It organizes and controls the activity concerning the management of game and of fishing in mountain waters and alpine lakes, including storage and dam lakes, the protection of hunting and piscicultural resources, and the utilization of game;
 - i) It organizes the harvesting, processing and utilization, for domestic purposes and for exportation, of forest fruits, edible mushrooms from self-sown flora, and all other byproducts of the forest;
 - j) It prepares the drafts of the annual and long-term plans, on the basis of its own studies and the proposals of the subordinate units;
 - k) It establishes, on the basis of the approved indicators, the economic and financial plan targets for subordinate units and pursues and is responsible for the steady fulfillment of them. It prepares, approves and makes changes in the plans of the subordinate economic units. It changes, for the department as a whole, in accordance with the law, the quarterly scheduling of the labor and salary indicators established by means of the plan, with compliance with the labor and salary indicators planned for the entire year;
 - l) It constitutes at its disposal, for the subordinate units, funds for the financing of investments, under the conditions of the law. It redistributes the available fixed assets to the subordinate units, within the competences granted;
 - m) It exercises administrative control over the material and financial resources at the subordinate units;
 - n) It organizes, provides for and guides the subordinate units' activity of supply, sales and transportation and prepares balances for the products for which it is a coordinator;
 - o) It performs the exportation and importation of products specific to silviculture through the specialized foreign trade units;
 - p) It provides for the preparation and application of the work rates and quotas for all the categories of personnel in its sphere of activity;
 - r) It approves the technical and economic documentation for investment work, within the limit of the legal competences;
 - s) It performs the activity of technical, scientific and economic cooperation in the field of silviculture, on a domestic and foreign level, within the limit of the competences granted;
 - t) It provides for the vocational recruiting, training and improvement of the personnel in the field of silviculture. It names, in accordance with the law, the leadership personnel of the subordinate units and appoints the personnel in its own apparatus and on the list of the department;

u) It performs any other duties specified by law.

Article 16. In exercising the control powers, the bodies of the Department of Silviculture and of the county forest inspectorates have the following rights and obligations:

- a) To conclude documents of ascertainment and to apply fines, in accordance with the law, in the case of contraventions to the Forest Code and the other regulatory acts concerning the branch of silviculture;
- b) To notify, in accordance with the law, the bodies of penal prosecution, when they ascertain infractions.

Article 17. The Department of Silviculture is led by a council of the department, which is organized and operates in accordance with the provisions of Decree No 76/1973.

The collective leadership of the operational activity of the department, and the provision of the implementation of the decisions of the leadership council, are achieved through its executive bureau.

The executive bureau, a body with a deliberative character, is composed of the head of the department, the chief state inspector, the deputy chief state inspector, directors, deputy directors, the secretary of the organization of the Romanian Communist Party, the delegate of the trade union, and other leadership personnel in the department or outside it, in accordance with the approval of the leadership council of the ministry.

The executive bureau is organized and operates in accordance with Decree No 76/1973.

The Department of Silviculture has a technical and economic council, which is organized and operates in accordance with Decree No 78/1973 on the organization and operation of the technical and economic councils and commissions.

Article 18. In subordination to the Department of Silviculture there operate the county forest inspectorates, research and design units, educational units and other units, in accordance with the legal provisions.

Article 19. The Department of Silviculture forms from the planned profits a reserve fund, determined by applying an annual quota of 1 percent to the value of its own circulating funds, which is used to temporarily cover urgent financial needs and other expenses, in accordance with the legal provisions.

Article 20. The Department of Silviculture can form, at the disposal of the leadership, a bonus fund, distinct from that of the ministry, whose size can be up to 0.05 percent of the salary fund planned annually for the subordinate economic units. From the fund so formed, it is possible to award bonuses during the year to the workers and other categories of personnel within the

subordinate economic units, including the leadership personnel of these units, who by means of the results obtained made a special contribution to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the tasks of the units in which they work.

Article 21. The Department of Silviculture forms in a centralized manner the fund for the introduction of new technology into silviculture from a quota of 0.3 percent applied to the planned production costs and a plan reserve of up to 2 percent of the salary fund approved quarterly. Plan reserves for the number of personnel are also formed in a corresponding manner.

Chapter V Final Provisions

Article 22. Decree No 654/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Construction Materials Industry, which became Law No 49/1969, and Decree No 655/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Wood Industry, which became Law No 50/1969, with the later amendments, and any other contrary provisions are repealed.

Decision No 153/1974 of the Council of Ministers on some measures referring to the duties of the State Inspectorate General of Silviculture and for the amending of Decision No 367/1973 of the Council of Ministers is repealed.

Article II. Appendices 8 and 10 to Decision No 367/1973 of the Council of Ministers on some measures for reorganizing the industrial centrals, the units comparable to them, and state enterprises, with the later amendments, are amended in accordance with appendices 3 and 4 to the present decree.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
Chairman
of the Romanian Socialist Republic

Bucharest, 7 December 1977.
No 400.

12105
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

VINKO HAFNER INTERVIEW ON SLOVENIAN LC AFFAIRS

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20, 21 Feb 77

[Interview of Vinko Hafner, secretary of the Ljubljana City Committee of the League of Communists by Mirko Galic]

[20 Feb 77, p 7]

[Text] A Great Deal of Water Will Yet Flow Down the Ljubljanica....

Vinko Hafner, secretary of the Ljubljana City Committee of the League of Communists, finds time for newspapermen even when he is busy the entire day. "That is a part of my position, my duty," says the party secretary of the capital of Slovenia who will soon celebrate a minor anniversary--5 years as head of the city committee. What has been the experience, the challenges and difficulties, the Ljubljana organization of the League of Communists [LC] has faced during that period and just before it? Comrade Hafner readily agreed to speak about this, and the interview with him in our newspaper will be the first in a new feature series called "Precongress Topics." In this series, in advance of the party congresses, we will present other interviews with outstanding party leaders in our capitals and republics and also with theoreticians and scholars. The series is also open to contributions from outside and to writers who examine ideological and political trends and problems in the League of Communists and in society at large from a standpoint of Marxist commitments.

Question: On several occasions, Comrade Hafner, you have gone back to 1970 and 1971 in speaking about Ljubljana's present political situation so as to draw certain parallels with the present and present conditions. Please tell us the kind of repercussions that 1970 and 1971 brought in Slovenia, what was, we might say, the Ljubljana or Slovenian version of those events which led to excesses in Yugoslavia and to the denouement represented by the 21st Meeting?

Answer: The political situation and work of the League of Communists in Ljubljana during the period before the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium, in 1971, did not differ essentially from the situation in Zagreb or Belgrade, just as the situation in Slovenia did not differ essentially from the situation in Croatia or Serbia. There were merely certain specific features, certain differences in the time sequence of events and the degree of seriousness of certain political problems. The social foundations for those events were the same everywhere.

Pressure From Bourgeois Ideologies and Advanced Consumer Society

So, the crisis of political ideology in action in the League of Communists and in society which was felt throughout the country in the late sixties had to some extent its own manifestations and even its own social roots in Ljubljana. By contrast with Zagreb, Ljubljana, though a smaller city, is in a still more sensitive position, above all because it is located still closer to the western borders, which are very much open, and because it is under still greater pressure from bourgeois ideologies and the social values of the advanced consumer society, and then also because of Ljubljana's socioeconomic composition, which is specific to some extent. That is, the industrial sector, which is the most important foundation of any large city's economic and social development, employs 45,000 workers, or 33 percent of the entire work force in Ljubljana, but the industrial sector is very fragmented and does not have high enough productivity, so that it produces only 31 percent of Ljubljana's social product. This diminishes the economic basis for the city's faster economic and social development and for the progressive influence of workers who are direct producers on sociopolitical events in the city, including the activity of the city organization of the League of Communists.

Ljubljana on the other hand is quite advanced in its tertiary activities, especially trade and public services. In and of itself this is no evil at all, but a real need of an advanced society. The workers in those activities are also a part of the working class, of associated labor. The problem arises when those forces in the sector of public welfare become too dominant, when their influence in public affairs is too strong and is detached from the production sector, that is, aloof from that sector's economic and public influence, since such a situation is very conducive to enhancement of tendencies toward technocratic bureaucracy, bourgeois egoism, nationalism and liberalism, on the one hand, while on the other smothering the socialist social relations of self-management. That is precisely what did happen in Ljubljana at that time, and it was related to the crisis of ideology and action within the League of Communists.

For good or for ill, even before the 21st Meeting of the LCY Presidium certain events had clearly demonstrated the actual sociopolitical situation to party members in Ljubljana and indeed in Slovenia and had shocked them greatly. First there was what was called the highway affair in 1970. The immediate pretext was the refusal of the Federal Executive

Council, whose chairman was Mitja Ribicic, to allow Slovenia to receive a World Bank loan that year to build the Maribor-Celje express highway. This was followed by a true escalation of nationalism in which numerous party members even took part. Soon after that came the "campaign by 25 deputies," members of the Slovenian Republic Assembly, who on their own, without cooperating with the Socialist Alliance and bypassing normal nominating procedures, proposed, or intended to nominate, their own candidate to be a member of the Yugoslav State Presidency. Some people might say that this independent gesture by a group of deputies bypassing formal structures was even evidence of authentic democratization of society at that time. But actually this was mostly evidence of a grotesque liberalistic conception of socialist democracy. And since this was a question of relations among party members, it was political sabotage of the first order.

Both these cases--the highway affair and the action of the 25 deputies--were debated in the expanded political activ of Slovenia, which, with the creative participation of Edvard Kardelj, Franc Popit and Sergej Kraigher, thoroughly assessed the true causes and consequences of sociopolitical excesses of that kind and helped toward a constructive differentiation of Slovenian party members with respect to political ideology.

All of this had repercussions in the Ljubljana LC organization as well; it was affected by strong pressures from bureaucratic-technocratic and liberalistic forces and was so to speak thrust to the periphery of public affairs.

In order to improve its level of organization and political effectiveness, the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, of which Popit was the chairman, initiated a campaign to organize opstina committees of the League of Communists. That is, up until that time there had been the city leadership, that is, the city conference and committee, 24 district conferences and about 550 local organizations of the League of Communists. The district conferences proved to be very ineffective, but the LCY was not properly organized at the level of the opstinas, which had long since become a reality in Ljubljana. The city committee, which at that time was under the obvious influence of the government administration and was pretty much detached from the rank-and-file party members and rank-and-file workers, opposed the formation of a party leadership in the opstinas, hoping in that way to retain as much influence as possible in its own hands and to strengthen the move to abolish the opstinas. It therefore attempted to portray all this as a dispute over a minor organizational matter, when actually it had to do with the essence of the activity and ideological orientation of the Ljubljana organization of the League of Communists. But the progressive forces won out, opstina conferences were formed, and the city conference of Ljubljana dissolved itself.

Serious Differentiation With Respect to Political Ideology Even Before the 21st Meeting

In recounting these events my purpose was to show that a serious differentiation with respect to political ideology had begun among party members of Ljubljana and Slovenia even before the 21st Meeting, which therefore did not come as a surprise, and certain of the events surrounding it seemed somewhat less spectacular and dramatic than in Zagreb or Croatia, though they took place under rather similar circumstances as to the situation in public affairs.

Question: In Croatia in 1970 and 1971 there were ideological and political confrontations which occurred aside from the political elite; they even involved some people, especially university students, who had no political affiliation. In Slovenia, it would seem, the polarization took place mainly at the top?

Answer: I would not say that. I think that in Slovenia as well we were dealing with deeper processes in the foundation of society and the party, at that level where the progressive, socialist and self-management forces, urged on mainly by the industrial working class and educated people with progressive leanings, came into daily conflict with the forces and tendencies representing conservatism, technobureaucracy and liberalism. The ideological confrontations that took place at the upper political levels were a reflection of those events at the lower levels of society, on which they in turn, of course, had an impact.

For instance, the 29th Meeting of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, which was held immediately after the Letter of Comrade Tito and the Executive Bureau, in late 1972, was best known to the Slovenian public because of the resignations of several well-known republic officials who previously had been very influential. Actually, its primary importance was because of the thorough assessment of the sociopolitical situation in Slovenia and the Slovenian LC and because of the very firm and consistent positions taken concerning the development of Slovenia's economy, social welfare and politics in the future.

Nationalism Has the Same Social and Economic Roots Everywhere

Question: Just as no nationalism is confined exclusively to Yugoslavia, even though in some communities it may manifest itself more dramatically and on a broader scale, so neither technocracy nor liberalism can be confined to just one area. Assuming, then, that these phenomena are not local in significance, can we still speak of any historical, social and socioeconomic reasons which have tended to reproduce technocracy and liberalism in Slovenia?

Answer: I think that we are not in a position to enter into a profound treatment of such social phenomena as nationalism, technocracy, liberalism and their interdependence and synchrony.

Nationalism unquestionably has the same social and economic roots everywhere, even though it manifests itself in somewhat specific forms and different intensities from republic to republic in Yugoslavia, as a function of many historical and other circumstances.

Nationalism is certainly evident in various forms even today in Slovenia, especially in Ljubljana. Yet in saying this we should make a clear distinction between true nationalism, which is a reactionary social phenomenon, and ethnic sensitivity or authentic patriotism. It should be understood that we Slovenians, though we are a small nation, have down through a long history been subject to national oppression and uninterrupted processes tending to deprive us of our identity as a people, and then only in the new socialist and federal Yugoslavia have we guaranteed our national independence and integrity. That is why we are so sensitive with regard to our rights as a nation, and that might easily be confused with nationalism. In any case, Slovenian nationalism has always been a reflection, to a greater extent than one might say of Croatian and Serbian nationalism, of petty bourgeois provincialism, which certainly was given its strongest exposure from an artistic standpoint in the works of Ivan Cankar, and has been exposed most thoroughly in Marxist science by Edvard Kardelj. Even in Ljubljana we can feel that nationalism in its various forms, which include chauvinistic and narrow-minded ways in which certain elements of society look upon the numerous workers from other republics. This is the case where it is easiest to see how nationalism and chauvinism occurring in the same social communities or structures join together with technocratic bureaucracy and the supposed cultural superiority of the petty bourgeois.

Question: Forgive the interruption, is there any region in Yugoslavia where technocracy and liberalism reflect a particular level of culture and education, that is, can a higher cultural level of development, when political ideology has not been sufficiently built up, provide the potting soil for an occasional occurrence of technocracy?

Answer: It is certain that technocracy is a social phenomenon that is manifested in every society and at every level of its economic and cultural development, but it is also clear that it becomes objectively stronger under the conditions of a country's higher economic development. It is therefore understandable that it has been manifested most strongly in advanced capitalist society where private capital is dominant, while technocratic and managerial structures have exerted greater and greater social influence. Technocracy is also very much present in the context of what is called administrative socialism. I do not mean thereby to identify it with the capitalist system. Nevertheless, that system has not solved the essential question of worker alienation from the conditions and results of their work either. On the contrary, with the strengthening of state ownership of the means of production and the complete power which the ramified technoadministrative structures have over social reproduction as a whole, the social roots of technocracy have become stronger.

As for technocracy in Yugoslavia, it seems to me that there are no appreciable differences from republic to republic or from city to city. Perhaps there is some difference in that in the economically and culturally more advanced regions technocracy more often takes on the ideology of bourgeois liberalism, while in the less developed regions it takes on the ideology of dogmatic statism. In any case, all of these isms are intertwined and it is difficult to tell them apart in practice.

Technocracy in Slovenia, or at least in Ljubljana, is more marked to some extent because it is linked to another phenomenon, that is, with the mentality of the craftsman and skilled worker, whose importance is particularly great in an industry which is fragmented and technologically outdated. The craftsman is himself a worker and is needed in any division of labor. But when this stratum of skilled workmen becomes too influential in a factory, it tries to raise itself above the production worker and at the same time to manage in his name. There are two different approaches to those who have training and education. On the one hand, because of its limited education and know-it-all self-confidence, it is constantly in conflict with trained and educated personnel and stands in opposition to every technological advance which it is not able to take over by virtue of its knowledge, and on the other hand, it links up with a portion of the educated and trained personnel that is technocratically oriented, particularly those in the technical fields, and then it tries to manage the factory through this alliance. This creates the kind of technocratic social block which is holding back the development of the social relations of self-management and also technological progress. There is quite a bit of that in Ljubljana.

Question: I propose that after this elucidation of the various phenomena, which are both things of the past and also relevant to the present, we undertake an analysis of another question: Ljubljana, the Ljubljana party organization, and then the broader Slovenian party organization, and then still more broadly the Yugoslav party organization and the differences between 1971 and 1977. In elaborating on this topic, using the example of Ljubljana, you frequently mention that the fundamental step has been taken toward achieving the competence of the party, the competence of the working class and the greater influence of that class on overall political events and on political life within the party.

Answer: Yes, it is particularly in this period we can see constructive changes that have taken place in the Ljubljana LC organization both with respect to changes of personnel and also its level of organization and its sociopolitical effectiveness. In just the last 4 years the number of members has increased from 16,100 to 25,400, an increase of 57 percent, while the number of local organizations has increased from 560 to 980. But the most important changes lie nevertheless in the ideological orientation and political preparedness of the LC and in the efforts to strengthen the socialist relations of self-management and speed up the city's economic and social progress.

I nevertheless think that frequently we exaggerate in our assessments of the real changes in socioeconomic relations. To be sure, the progress in recent years has been obvious, but the real social situation has not changed as much in that time as we would like, that is, as we subjectively feel because of our own intensified public activity. It seems to me that sometimes as the political vanguard--the working class, the subjective forces--as an entire society we do not take into account simple laws of movement, that is, the inertia of small and large bodies. A small body, that is, the League of Communists--the subjective forces, the committees and conferences--has a smaller weight and mass, and therefore can be quickly set into motion, can more quickly attain speed and more easily make a course correction, but it also is quicker to lose its momentum, to become fatigued and to come to a halt. A large body on the other hand, that is, the working class, the working masses, society, is difficult to set into motion, it moves more slowly, but it has great momentum, and it is difficult to stop.

You see, we members of the party sometimes adopt a particular position or program, and when we are at the height of our activity and it seems to us that we have already gone very far, the real social situation is only beginning to change.

Question: If I have understood you correctly, real life, that is, the large body, needs more time to get moving....

We Are Still Far From Saying That the Workers Are Running Ljubljana

Answer: Yes, yes.... If we are unaware of this, we do not see the true results of our activity, and we consequently become demoralized. Thus sometimes, because of a hasty and erroneous evaluation of the events in society, we unnecessarily alter the tactical direction of our activity, since what we have been doing in the right direction is only slowly beginning to yield constructive results. Which means that we should have a little more patience and not fear that this might be regarded as opportunism and diminished commitment to the revolution.

Question: You believe that one should avoid being too black-and-white in making judgments, excessive generalizations, and hasty judgments, and that one should take a better reading of real processes and conditions?

Answer: Precisely. Look, 30 years have passed since the victory of the people's revolution and 25 years since enactment of the law on the workers' councils. Yet only now, with enactment of the new constitution and the Law on Associated Labor, we must make a sharp change of direction from management in the name of the workers to management by the workers themselves. At this point someone might ask us what we have been doing, we Yugoslav communists, during those 25 years so as not to have made that change of direction before, and also what kind of pledge we give that this really will take place this time? You see, that is why we must be

very objective in evaluating our own experience and the real possibilities for social development in the immediate future. That is, it is obvious that the development of socialist self-management does not depend solely on the desires and efforts of the subjective social forces, but primarily on the development of the productive forces and the broad cultural level, and that development takes place within certain objective limits. If that were not the case, we certainly would have achieved a higher level in the development of social relations before now.

When, for example, I assess the changes in Ljubljana since I took up this position in March 1972, I am a bit dissatisfied that we have not done more to improve the economic and social situation of the city and its population and have not achieved more in the development of social relations. Even though certain progress has been made in this area, we are still far from being able to say that the working class or the workers are directly disposing of the conditions of their work and the results of their work and that they are running Ljubljana. This is our goal, and we are working toward it, but a great deal of water will still flow down the Ljubljanica before it actually happens.

[21 Feb 77, p 8]

[Text] Question: You in Ljubljana have decided on certain actions concerning the city's economic structure and a move toward a greater share of the industrial sector. Do you think that perhaps Ljubljana paid too high a price for that realization and perhaps waited too long for it?

Answer: Here is the thing! Before the war Ljubljana was developing primarily as Slovenia's sociopolitical center, administrative center and the center of its education and culture. Trade and the crafts were dominant in the economy, while industry was very fragmented and underdeveloped. The prevailing mentality in the city, then, was that of the small property owner, the storekeeper, the civil servant, in short the petty bourgeois mentality, which did not support industrial development. That mentality feared a larger presence of industrial workers, who might threaten the established bourgeois peace and order.

Advantage To Be Given to Modern Industry With a High Rate of Capital Formation

After the war industry developed rapidly in Ljubljana for a time, and several important industrial facilities were built. Then industrial development began to lag a bit, while the tertiary activities, particularly trade, began to develop more rapidly. The essential thing is that this weakened the material base for the city's future economic progress and for meeting its growing public needs, and it weakened the progressive influence of the industrial producer on overall sociopolitical events in the city. But now we are making serious efforts to alter that situation at least to some extent. In the coming period, then, we are giving

preference to the development of a more modern industry with a higher rate of capital accumulation. To that end we must be more decisive in settling accounts with the conservative thinking which opposes that course and which is still with us.

Question: The Ljubljana party organization is operating in the context of a per capita income of about \$2,700, which is high for Yugoslavia. I mentioned that datum in connection with one of your ideas, which seems to me to be unusually challenging and interesting, the idea that the struggle for socialism and for self-management must be primarily the concern of those who are not yet in the socialist context and who do not have self-management. Are they always true Allies?

Answer: I will try to answer your question the way I understand it. Before that, something about the per capita national income of Ljubljana: first, we should be aware that it was achieved primarily under conditions of high employment. The city has 290,000 inhabitants, a work force of about 155,000, and 40 percent of them are women.

Second, Ljubljana's per capita national income also includes certain public revenues like the turnover tax and some others, which are only recorded in Ljubljana, but have no true relation to the city's economy, nor with the financial situation of the inhabitants or workers.

Now as to the substance of your question: which social strata have the greatest interest in the enhancement and victory of self-management socialism and which does the League of Communists put greatest reliance on, what is its principal social base, and what is the principal source of its moral force and revolutionary commitment? There is no doubt that these basic strata are the production workers. In terms of their financial situation and social status, they objectively have the greatest interest in the victory of self-management socialism and of communism as the only alternative in achieving their authentic social liberation.

A Great Many Workers Are Far From Their Own Social Liberation

The communist movement came into being by unifying the everyday organized struggle of the proletariat to improve its difficult financial and social situation with the scientific Marxist proposition that complete liberation of the workers from all exploitation and monopoly is possible only by creating a classless communist society, that is, what is called an association of free producers. Our working class and communist movement has traveled a long way on that road, but they are still far from the ultimate goal. It is true that with the very victory of the socialist revolution and with the creation of people's power, there was an essential change in the social status of the working class, and that meant also a change in its social identity. With the introduction of workers' self-management another major step was taken toward social liberation of the workers.

In the meantime there has been an essential improvement in the worker's financial situation, in his social security, in his professional knowledge, and in his general education. What is more, under the constitution and law, all workers, regardless of their level of education or job, have the same rights and enjoy the same production relations, which means that they are all self-managers. Now, if that were really so in reality, then there would no longer be a working class, nor a working class communist movement.

But the real social status of the worker is quite a bit different, in spite of the important material and social progress that has been made; a large portion of the working class is still far from its own social liberation. Putting it in very simple terms, I would represent the situation in Ljubljana to you this way: about one-third of the 165,000 workers who are employed can be called true self-managers with respect to their social consciousness and their actual participation in managing their work organizations and public business. Now they are the ones who already have self-management and socialism. Another third is somewhere in the middle and is slowly taking shape in the context of self-management. But the last third of the workers, in spite of their formal rights to self-management and to disposition of the means and results of their labor, still feel and still live like hired workers, like true proletarians of our time. These are mostly production workers, manual laborers, whose earnings are perceptibly lower than the average for the work force as a whole, and some of them are always on the edge of poverty. These are the ones who are furthest from their social liberation and from self-management.

It is the improvement of the financial and social situation of these workers that will always be the most objective yardstick of the true progress of our entire society and at the same time the principal driving force and moral obligation of the revolutionary communist movement.

Question: In what sense do you link this to the question of the composition of rank-and-file members of the League of Communists with respect to class and social origin and to the creation of a worker majority?

The Social Composition of the League of Communists as a Source of Ideological Vacillation and Ineffectiveness

Answer: We should start with the fact that a man's specific financial position and social status predetermine his social consciousness to the greatest degree. To be sure, the consciousness of a revolutionary commitment of an individual party member and of the entire communist movement is not based solely on the immediate social interests of the individual and of the class, but also on a scientific awareness of the laws governing the movement of society toward a classless communist society and toward an association of free producers as being in the historical interest of the working class. It is the unity of communist consciousness

and real social motivation that serves as the basis for the revolutionary commitments of the movement and as an obstacle to all possible ideological deformations. This unity must then be reflected in the social composition of the League of Communists, as the simplest expression of the class to which it belongs and of its social motivation. That is what makes it so important to create a worker majority, that is, to increase the direct participation and political influence of blue-collar workers in the League of Communists so as to strengthen the party's class orientation and its ties with its worker base.

Or, turning the picture around, if the rank-and-file membership of the LC consisted primarily or exclusively of the so-called upper social strata, the managerial structures, the trained and educated, the better-off workers, and so on, then its nature as a class organization must be deformed, and it must lose its revolutionary commitments. I think that even today those strata have an obvious advantage in the League of Communists, while on the other hand production workers are not sufficiently in evidence, and that includes even the most conscious portion of those worker strata which are furthest from their social liberation, and this is one of the essential sources of the ideological vacillation and social ineffectiveness of numerous party organizations.

Question: In saying that the LC's closest Allies are those who are furthest from self-management, are you not opening up the way to the objection that you exaggerate the role of those strata of the workers who still have not become conscious and who are unable to carry the burden of current commitments in practical politics such as are faced by society and the League of Communists? Moreover, might it not be easier to manipulate those workers than workers or intellectuals who are educated and class-conscious?

Answer: Among blue-collar workers there are a great many very intelligent and class-conscious workers who qualify to be members of the LC in spite of their inadequate education and knowledge of society. It is just that party organizations do not make sufficient efforts to get to know them and obtain their sociopolitical commitments. On the other hand, a great many good workers are hesitant to enroll in a local party organization which does not have sufficient ties with blue-collar workers and which in their eyes look more like a political organization representing what amounts to employers than an organization that represents the blue-collar worker. By and large these are those organizations which have actually joined hands with the managerial stratum. In such places workers are rarely enrolled in the League of Communists, and he himself is not anxious to join.

It is true that in politics it is easier to manipulate workers who do not have a high enough level of consciousness or sufficient education than it is those who have a higher level of consciousness and more education. Are we therefore to wait until all workers reach a level of culture and

education so that we can then begin to enroll them in the party? Is it not rather precisely the task of the League of Communists to make the workers conscious and organize them politically so that they can fight more effectively for their own progress and the progress of society as a whole?

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YUGOSLAVIA

MEDICAL PROBLEMS OF MILITARY DIVERS SURVEYED

Belgrade MORNARICKI GLASNIK in Serbo-Croatian No 6, Nov-Dec 76 pp 991-1004

[Article* by Col Med Serv Stracimir Gosovic, M. D. and doctor of sciences]

[Text] Man's endeavors at underwater diving probably date from his first contact with the sea, lakes and large rivers. Dives were made out of curiosity, in a search for new sources of food, and so that man might conceal himself or attack an enemy by surprise.

Folk tales and the rare writings also speak of the earliest attempts to use diving for military purposes.

Nearchus, commander of the fleet of Alexander the Great, destroyed the underwater foundations of the city of Tyre with boat-tended divers called utriquiliares in the 4th century B.C. According to Mauricius, the ancient Slavs dived by means of a hollow reed to conceal themselves from the eyes of an enemy or to attack him by surprise. Bohaddin, a 13th century Arab writer, writes about a diver who by breathing with the aid of animal bladders managed to penetrate a city which was being blockaded. Should we add that even the Phoenicians had boat-tended divers, and that Louis XIII had a special naval unit of divers who maintained the underwater parts of ships and were called "murgons," it is clear the effort that was made even in the most ancient times to use diving for military purposes [5, 8].

The commando mission of two Italians, who after the formal cessation of hostilities in 1918 sank the ship *Viribus Unitis* in the port of Pula, was probably the inspiration of the Italian Navy when a few years before World War II it organized in the greatest secrecy the only underwater combat unit, which later came to be called the Decima Flottiglia MAS. In just one night, between 19 and 20 September 1941, six members of this unit managed without losses of their own to destroy more than 34,000 tons of Allied shipping in the port of Gibraltar. The same number of underwater commandos later carried out the spectacular exploit of blowing up the

* The points of view expressed in this article are the author's personal opinions, and they should be taken and interpreted as such.

warships Valiant and Queen Elizabeth in the port of Alexandria [6, 9, 12, 15].

In response to the audacious attacks of the Italian commandos in Gibraltar, in late 1941 and early 1942 the British attacked the ports of Palermo and Tripoli with great losses. In these underwater operations the destruction of three merchant vessels cost them 12 frogmen, 17 "chariots" (submersibles for commandos) and the tender submarines which were adapted for carrying commandos and equipment for assisted propulsion of the divers. Dissatisfied with the seaworthiness of the "chariots," they later developed the X-15 midget submarine, which they used to carry out the well-known commando actions against the warship Tirpitz in 1943 and the cruiser Bolzano in 1944 [2].

According to German data, in the second phase of the war their underwater commandos sank about 93,000 tons of Allied shipping using only the Seehund midget submarine. After the war the British estimated these losses at 120,000 tons [6]. This does not include losses inflicted by the primitive Neger torpedo subs and the relatively effective Biber midget submarines [6].

The Japanese achieved notable success in the last phase of World War II through the widespread use of Kaiyayu midget submarines and the extremely fast Kaiten kamikazi torpedoes. Each of the four specially adapted conventional mother subs could carry 4-6 Kaitens, which could be boarded from the mother sub while submerged. In discussion of this type of weapon we should also mention units of demolition boats; Japan built more than 6,000 of these boats in the last year of the war. Japanese underwater combat units destroyed more than 40 Allied ships, including 3 destroyers, 1 cruiser and the heavy cruiser Indianapolis, which was carrying parts for an atomic bomb. In 1942 a Japanese midget submarine made a spectacular penetration of the port of San Diego Suarez on Madagascar and in that action sank one tanker and damaged the battleship Ramillies [2, 5, 6, 9].

Reports are very rarely issued in wartime on the actions of underwater combat personnel in local conflicts. There is information that they were used in the Korean War and in Indochina. Underwater SEAL (sea-air-land) groups, which belong to the Green Berets, and members of an underwater demolition team operated on the United States side in Vietnam. It is also well known that Viet Cong fighters carried out successful sabotage against U.S. ships in the Mekong Delta. Something more is known about the actions of Israel's underwater commandos sent into the Nile Delta in the 1967 war (Alexandria, Buherat and Manzala) and about similar actions by Egyptian underwater commandos in the port of Elat, where they carried out commando missions against two ships and later in the shipyard, where work was being done on one of the damaged ships [2].

In spite of the assumption that in future military conflicts we cannot expect spectacular individual exploits by underwater commandos as occurred

at the outset of World War II, the possibility of widespread use of commando operations and the psychological effects which result from the fact that a commando operation might be carried out at any time and at any place have motivated present-day armed forces to devote much attention to combat and other forms of military diving. The trend in the development of military diving is best illustrated by the datum that in 1973 the United States Navy had 948 commissioned and noncommissioned officers and 3,210 enlisted men in diving units. Of this number 273 officers and 1,080 enlisted men do deep sea diving with air or oxygen-helium mixtures, 100 officers and 600 enlisted men are SCUBA divers using air, and 115 officers and 335 enlisted men belong to SEAL groups (the naval section of the Green Berets), and 205 officers and 375 enlisted men engage in antimine diving in units of explosive ordnance disposal divers. There are 85 commissioned officers in commando groups of the underwater demolition team, and 85 commissioned officers and 270 enlisted men dive at the greatest depths by the technique of complete or partial saturation [1].

Divers, that is, those who dive professionally or regularly, are represented in ever greater numbers in present-day navies and armed forces in general. It is probably because the diverse categories of divers can be used for carrying out various underwater missions and because views differ on the role of underwater units that there is no generally accepted classification of military divers and diving. Therefore our attempt to classify military divers should be taken as our own view of this problem, which we are presenting mainly so as to give medical men a better idea of what underwater units do and what military diving is generally concerned with.

Combat Divers. This group of divers, who participate directly in underwater combat operations, includes underwater commandos, anticommando divers and divers in amphibious landing units.

The principal task of underwater fighting men (naval commandos, le nageurs du combat, incursori subacquei, frogmen, and so on) is to carry out offensive action against important enemy targets on the water, on the coast or in the fairly deep rear. Anticommando divers (who serve either in ports or on board ship) are concerned with detecting, destroying and preventing underwater demolition operations and also in deactivating mines which have been laid by enemy commandos. Diver teams of amphibious units participate in reconnaissance and clearance of underwater obstacles from zones planned for an amphibious landing [1, 9, 13, 14, 16].

Antimine Divers. These divers may operate in separate units or in teams attached to amphibious and anticommando units. They are specially trained to deactivate and destroy underwater mine devices. The importance which is given today to antimine diving is illustrated by the fact that specialized diving apparatuses have been developed for antimine diving, in which mixtures of oxygen-enriched air are usually used. These apparatuses are distinguished by being absolutely nonmagnetic and antiacoustic [1, 9, 13, 4, 14, 16].

Rescue Divers. This traditional and generally accepted category of divers operates in special rescue units. These divers are specially trained to dive at great depths, primarily to rescue crews of sunken submarines and to salvage valuable sunken objects. Teams of mobile SCUBA divers intended to rescue the crews and passengers of aircraft which have crash landed at sea and divers who meet space capsules after they "touch down" on the surface of the sea and ocean can be put in this category as well. The crews of submarines and of armored vehicles designed to ford water obstacles, whose training in diving makes it possible for them to accomplish difficult maneuvers while rising to the surface from a submarine or tank immobilized underwater make up a special and heterogeneous group of persons who dive [1, 9, 13, 14, 16].

Divers of Engineer and Armored Units. Specially trained SCUBA divers operate in engineer and armored units. They are intended for underwater reconnaissance, construction or demolition to meet the needs of engineer units and to organize and clear a way for armored vehicles when they are forcing water obstacles in deep water. They also reconnoiter the bottom and the currents, and if necessary they rescue the crews of tanks or tow them to the shore.

The French Armed Forces provide the most eloquent example of the importance given today to this category of divers. Although the first teams of divers to support armored units were created only in 1967, by 1970 they had made it possible to carry out several large-scale forced crossings of the largest French rivers. When we add that in 1970 the French Army had more than 700 divers for this purpose in units of the AMX-30 armored tanks, it becomes still more obvious how committed they are in this field [9, 14, 16].

The ever larger representation of the various aspects of diving in present-day armed forces also makes it a necessity to set up a specialized medical service which is indispensable if underwater units are to achieve their highest degree of combat capability. The specialized underwater medical service consists of a central medical research institution, the medical departments of diving and rescue schools and the field medical service of underwater units. At the present stage of development the activity of the specialized military underwater medical service is oriented toward underwater medical research and medical testing of equipment, teaching, medical screening and monitoring and medical support of diving and divers, organization of the decompression service, and medical supervision over all aspects of underwater activities.

Research in the Field of Underwater Medicine

The ever-present need to solve various problems in the field of the physiopathology of diving, technical medical protection, the monitoring of diving apparatuses and auxiliary equipment for diving from the standpoint of physiology, and the need to increase divers' capabilities with respect

to depth and length of dive have led to the development of specialized underwater medical institutions in present-day navies. Whereas large navies have large research institutions, the smaller navies have small research teams of experts with the relevant background who are working in this field. The research institutions of the large navies not only engage in applied research, but commit a sizable portion of their personnel and resources to studying the unsolved basic problems in underwater medicine and underwater equipment. Most important among these problems are decompression, the toxic effect of oxygen, the narcotic effect of gases under pressure, diving in the state of saturation, and a great number of others. Research teams of the smaller navies work not only on everyday routine problems, but are also concerned with operational underwater medical research to meet the needs of underwater naval units and all other categories of military divers [3, 4, 9, 11].

Specialists in underwater medicine regularly keep abreast of the contemporary literature in the fields of underwater medicine and underwater equipment. Up-to-date knowledge about current trends in the development of underwater activities and underwater medicine in the world is the best way of promoting one's own underwater activities and of anticipating any surprise. At the same time, it is a commonplace that only well-informed medical men can effectively carry out their own research programs.

The systematic running of physiological tests on diving equipment before its adoption as service equipment is an important field of activity for specialists in underwater medicine. Only an objective and documented assessment of diving equipment under conditions simulated in a compression chamber and during actual dives can yield a competent judgment and a proper choice.

Present-day diving apparatuses using oxygen-enriched air mixtures (Nitrox), especially those that allow for alternate dynamic use of the mixture and pure oxygen, have much more to offer than the standard self-contained underwater breathing apparatuses using compressed air and oxygen. The great advantages of these apparatuses in terms of freedom of movement and diving depths, when alternation is possible back and forth between the closed circuit and the semiclosed circuit, become especially important in military diving. Yet the capabilities of these apparatuses can be fully utilized only if detailed procedures are developed concerning their use of the various types of military diving. That is why specialists in underwater medicine and underwater technicians must work together closely; on the basis of the technical documentation and their own research, they will develop the specific variations for use of these apparatuses.

Applied research also includes the active participation of medical men in compiling relevant regulations, instructions, manuals and plans for various types of basic and specialized combat training in diving. The quality of the training of military divers and ultimately the performance of combat missions will depend on the quality of this literature to a great extent [9].

Medical Screening and Monitoring

The medical screening and monitoring of divers is one of the most important involvements of medical men in underwater activities and that aspect which is best known to the general public. Success in the training and performance of combat missions depends on the quality of medical screening and periodic medical examinations. Moreover, only healthy and physically fit divers can effectively carry out their jobs without jeopardy to their health. In the medical examinations which are part of the screening process particular attention is paid to the anthropometric data, psychological and character traits and health data of prospective professional divers. In addition to the requirement of above-average physical development and good health, particular attention is paid to the cardiorespiratory system and the ear, nose and throat. In addition to functional tests of the cardiorespiratory system, which give us an idea of the candidate's physical condition, particular attention is paid to specific physiological tests. Here we are referring to objective assessment of the ability to equalize pressure in the ear and sinuses (tests of the barofunction) and the test of sensitivity to oxygen under pressure.

Organized and ongoing medical supervision of the state of health of all categories of personnel in the armed forces who engage in diving is the function of the medical units of training centers and the underwater units themselves. Moreover, the divers go through systematic and periodic medical monitoring in regular examinations. These examinations are performed in specialized institutions (the Institute for Naval Medicine) or in other medical institutions which have the appropriate specialists and technical requisites (hospitals, public health centers). Divers go through unscheduled examinations following illnesses, a prolonged period when they have not been diving, when the field physician cannot ascertain the reason when divers do not feel well or when they have systematically been losing weight, and also before major underwater assignments that are not routine. The medical checks should be performed thoroughly and should be particularly oriented toward subjective complaints or organic and functional impairments that are detected [9, 14, 16]. The decision concerning fitness for the diving profession must not be made hastily, but following a detailed study. In borderline cases functional tests should be used before a final decision is made, and if necessary the subject should be hospitalized for detailed tests. The result of the formalistic approach to borderline cases in order to relieve oneself of responsibility has the result that skilled personnel are very frequently lost when there is no good reason. Since the training of military divers takes a long time and is expensive, and, most important, since the formation of a good military diver requires a great deal of time, uncritical disqualification causes a sense of insecurity and a bad psychological atmosphere in underwater units [9].

The Basic Elements of Medical Support

Medical support of diving includes general and specific measures and procedures to protect the health and combat capability of military divers, including medical care of divers who are injured or sick. Medical support of military diving, just like medical support of routine diving, can be divided into support in the preparatory period, support during performance of missions in the strict sense, and support after combat divers have withdrawn from the zone of operations.

As for preparation for performance of the combat mission, medical participation is indispensable in the phase of planning and in the preliminary selection of those candidates who have the best physical, professional and psychological preparation. This phase includes the doctor's conversation with the divers, a check of their physical preparedness and of their familiarity with general and specific first-aid measures (hemostasis, immobilization of an injured part when a patient is being moved, reanimation of drowning victims, and familiarity with preventive and therapeutic decompression procedures). The medical support of a mission in the strict sense can in principle be performed in three ways. Small detached groups for commando operations or for clearing underwater obstacles and detached divers for anticommando support of seaborne units are supported by the measures of mutual aid and self-help. In these situations the physician will accompany the divers until they leave for the mission and will meet them when it is completed.

The second solution involves the participation of medical personnel while the mission is being carried out. This is usually done when dives are being made as part of mine countermeasures or in rescue or salvage operations, and it is done considerably less frequently in connection with underwater commando operations and amphibious landings. During World War II there were cases when physicians did participate directly in action as underwater commandos or reserve commandos [2, 6, 15].

It is much more common to combine the first two arrangements. In the first part of the underwater mission the physician will accompany the members of the mission to the diving site on a submarine or support vessel or helicopter and will meet them after they withdraw from the zone of the combat action. On the vehicle which meets them aid is given to exhausted, frozen or injured divers. Hemostasis, immobilization, administration of oxygen and analgesics, general heating and the use of therapeutic recompression procedures will most frequently come into consideration as part of measures for cardiocirculatory reanimation. Recompression can be improvised by pressurizing the conning tower, access trunk or refuge compartment in the submarine or by reimmersion in the water. There is evidence that therapeutic recompression can be postponed if necessary without major consequences if light and moderately light cases are given oxygen, vasodilators, aspirin and corticosteroids [7, 8, 10].

The medical officer supporting divers in an amphibious landing who are opening "breaches" in underwater fortifications will usually be on the support vessel or on one of the fast craft which will pick up the divers [9].

It is much simpler to support divers doing mine countermeasures since they are usually working in the rear or after cessation of hostilities. When underwater mine devices are being sought, inactivated or destroyed, the physician may be on one of the vessels from which the divers are making their dives. He can provide the relevant advice or intervene himself in case of illness or injury.

Because of the danger of underwater explosions the diver's stay beneath the surface under wartime conditions should be reduced to the shortest possible time, and the number of divers should be reduced to the absolute minimum. The use of oxygen-enriched air mixtures, which prolong dives without decompression and combined decompressions, can considerably shorten the idle time spent in the water for preventive decompression [7, 8, 10].

It is very important that the debriefing which follows performance of underwater missions include not only the naval aspect, but also specific underwater medical problems, so that conclusions might be drawn for more effective operation in similar future actions.

Training in Underwater Medicine

Good training, motivation and proper organization are the basic elements in the training of good military divers. In the complicated system of underwater activities equal attention should be paid to the specialized training of members of the medical service, officers of underwater units and all categories of divers.

The postgraduate specialization of physicians and medical technicians in underwater medicine is an indispensable condition for their performance of specialized medical tasks in underwater units. Since adequate attention is not paid to this type of training during regular schooling, it should be organized through regular courses in underwater medicine. A distinction should be made between the basic courses which qualify personnel for work in underwater units and refresher courses. The latter can be done in general courses in which the students are familiarized with what is new in underwater medicine and technology or in the form of specialized training, say, for work in submarine units, rescue units, medical teams of armored units forcing water obstacles, and so on. These courses should be given to medical personnel both in the regular armed forces and also to those in territorial defense and diving clubs. Only well-trained medical men can participate constructively in organizing and carrying out underwater assignments.

Additional training in underwater medicine, beyond the level reached in military schools, is also necessary, in our opinion, for officers in underwater units. This training should include additional formal training in underwater physiology, specific medical aid procedures when incidents occur underwater, and the physicochemical monitoring of the diver's air, oxygen and artificial gas mixtures.

A good familiarity with the procedures of general and specific prevention for all aspects of diving is something else which should be provided by this additional training. In this training the greatest attention should be paid to drills, demonstrations, laboratory work and the handling of pressure devices.

The medical units of diver training centers and of underwater units should be involved continuously in the basic and supplemental training of divers and in their physical exercises. In addition to class lectures and drills, conversation, consultation and informal question and answer sessions should be held.

Organization of the Recompression Service

The specialized recompression service has a much broader military-medical importance than just to provide etiological treatment of victims of decompression illness and barotraumatic air embolism.

In addition to the use of recompression equipment for therapeutic purposes, they are used for high-pressure oxygen treatment in cases of decompression illness and barotraumatic air embolism. Among other things, this method is very effective in treatment of cases of poisoning with gunpowder and exhaust gases and for reanimation of drowning victims.

The use of recompression equipment for combined preventive decompression (partly in the water and partly out of the water) is especially relevant to certain types of military diving. The use of this method eliminates the need for the long stay underwater, thereby considerably reducing the risk of underwater explosions resulting from bombardment, artillery fire or activation of mine devices [7, 8, 10].

Recompression equipment is an indispensable facility for most specialized research in underwater medicine and diving technology. It is also used to test and check diving apparatus and auxiliary diving equipment and to perform specific physiological tests on prospective divers during medical screening and monitoring [7, 8].

Training in diving with artificial gas mixtures is unthinkable without sophisticated equipment, which would mean hydropneumatic locks (diving simulator) and an underwater decompression chamber (transfer capsule). Compression chambers are used for physiological conditioning of divers so that they become accustomed to the direct and indirect effects of high

pressure. This is important for all divers who regularly or occasionally do deep diving. From the military standpoint physiological training is also important for certain groups of divers from the interior of the country where diving is ordinarily done in relatively shallow rivers [7, 8, 9]. If these groups of divers regularly go through systematic physiological conditioning, they will also be able to perform exceptional missions at greater depths in storage reservoirs or natural lakes, say, in a rescue operation or to find and raise valuable sunken objects.

The recompression service should be planned on a long-term basis as to its technical capabilities, so that each new device that is purchased can fit into the layout designed in advance. The compression equipment should be standardized so that patients can be transferred without change of pressure from one-man portable compression chambers to large compression chambers with several sections. It would be good for multisection compression chambers to be set up in the central research institution, the diving and rescue schools, at principal points along the coast, and on large vessels assigned as tenders for deep diving. It is sufficient for other underwater units and underwater explorers' clubs to have standardized one-man recompression chambers with a minimum pressure of 6 atmospheres and the necessary attachments for a patient's transfer to a large chamber at the same pressure. Mobile recompression equipment mounted on special vehicles are suitable for armored units with tanks which force water obstacles. Aside from their many uses, recompression chambers also have an important psychological role, since they give all those who dive a sense of security [8, 10].

Medical Supervision of Diving

Medical supervision over all types of underwater activities has very great importance to promotion of underwater activities, since it has the direct effect of making diving as safe as possible. The military medical service should be permanently involved in this area: from diving courses to day-to-day underwater activities. Medical supervision should include instruction, preparation for a dive, a check on the quality and mandatory possession of the minimum equipment for diving, the physicochemical characteristics of the diver's air, oxygen and artificial gas mixtures, and also of materials for absorption and regeneration. This supervision also includes mandatory possession of recompression equipment for certain categories of diving and the enforcement of general and specific preventive procedures at underwater work and training sites.

Medical supervision should be performed continuously on the basis of the relevant legislation and generally acknowledged safety practices; the medical officer should not be overbearing, but should give advice and issue cautions and correct errors before ultimately exercising the right to prohibit diving when there is a flagrant violation of relevant basic precautions. Medical officers should insist that precautions and special procedures in case of various incidents be drilled until they have become

second-nature so that they can be performed promptly and spontaneously. The greater the professional competence of medical officers and the more consistent they are in presenting a personal example, the more effective their actions will be in the field of medical supervision. If the medical men themselves follow correct procedures when they dive, their actions will be taken in good part by the divers. If they combine the traits of a good medical man and a good knowledge of underwater technology, if they always insist that precautions be taken, and if they are level-headed, calm and do not arouse unnecessary fears, generations of able military divers will be trained. One of the things this will achieve is a higher degree of combat capability of underwater units. This will be the greatest guarantee of successful performance of all underwater assignments [9].

Conclusion

On the basis of our experience to date, it is expected that underwater units will have an important role in operations on the sea and major waterways. For that reason these units have been included in the formations of all present-day armed forces. In addition to underwater combat personnel, primarily men trained for offensive operations, anticommando defense groups and groups to support amphibious landing operations, provision has also been made for the use of divers in mine countermeasures, rescue teams, and divers in engineer and armored units. We should also include submariners and the crews of armored vehicles which force water obstacles by traveling in deep water or by floating, who have been trained to rescue themselves by diving methods with special equipment should there be an accident.

The medical service in underwater units participates in all phases of the complicated and specialized training of all categories of military divers, in medical screening and examinations, and in medical support of underwater operations. To these tasks we should add the organization and conduct of underwater medical research and technical testing of new, prototype and redesigned diving equipment from the medical standpoint. Participation of specialists in underwater medicine is indispensable during physiological conditioning, the rescue of submariners, and the organization and planning of major underwater operations and those which are not routine. It is particularly necessary for medical men to be involved in missions when diving is done with present-day breathing apparatuses which allow for alternate feed of pure oxygen or mixtures of oxygen-enriched air.

The medical service in underwater units also has important tasks in attending divers and shipwreck survivors who are injured or exhausted and in organizing and conducting specific preventive and therapeutic recompression procedures.

PHOTO CAPTIONS

1. p 994. Testing diving equipment in a compression chamber.
2. p 996. Testing a diving apparatus under shipboard conditions.
3. p 998. Physiological tests of divers.

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